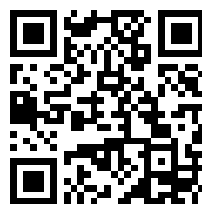

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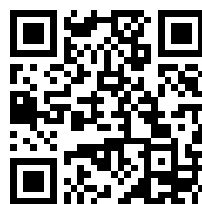
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CONTENTS OF VOL. XXVII.

TRANSACTIONS.

I. Superstitions and Popular Beliefs in Greek Tragedy . . .	5
ERNST RIESS.	
II. Age at Marriage and at Death in the Roman Empire . . .	35
ALBERT GRANGER HARKNESS.	
III. On the Accent of Certain Enclitic Combinations in Greek .	73
FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.	
IV. The Origin of Sigma Lunatum	79
JOHN HENRY WRIGHT.	

PROCEEDINGS.

Children on the Stage in the Sanskrit Drama	v
A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.	
Notes on the Etymology of <i>Atrium</i>	vi
H. W. MAGOUN.	
The Problem of the <i>Atrium</i> or the Meaning of the Word in Classical Latin	vii
H. W. MAGOUN.	
The Origin of the μ Form of $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ in Greek MS.	x
W. N. BATES.	
Notes on Lucian	xi
FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.	
A Study in the History of German Metrics	xv
JULIUS GOEBEL.	
An Important Side of Aristophanes' Criticism of Euripides . .	xix
H. RUSHTON FAIRCLOUGH.	
The Filological Study of Literature	xx
FRANCIS A. MARCH.	
Report on Latin Orthography	xxii

A Discussion of Catullus LXII. 39-58	xxv
CHARLES KNAPP.	
Euripides, <i>Hippolytus</i> , 42	xxvii
FRANCIS KINGSLEY BALL.	
One of the Debts of Roman Literature to Early Roman Tragedy	xxix
KARL P. HARRINGTON.	
Notes on the <i>véκνια</i> of Peisandros, Aristophanes' <i>Aves</i> , 1553-1564	xxxiv
B. PERRIN.	
" <i>Νοτε</i> in the Orators, with Special Reference to Isocrates	xxxv
W. A. ECKELS.	
Plato's Studies in Greek Literature	xxxviii
CARLETON L. BROWNSON.	
Rome's Foreign Population B.C. 100-100 A.D.	xl
W. F. PALMER.	
The Form of Philosophical Discussion before Sokrates	xliii
ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.	
Notes on the Function of Modern Languages in Africa	xlvi
W. S. SCARBOROUGH.	
The Satirical Element in Ennius	xlvi
E. M. PEASE.	
Report of the Committee of Twelve on the Study of Latin	li
Report of the Committee on Spelling Reform	lvi
Vergil's Use of the Word <i>Atrium</i>	lvii
H. W. MAGOUN.	
Notes on the <i>Hippolytus</i> of Euripides	lxi
J. E. HARRY.	
Old-English Runic <i>ænipu lufu</i>	lxiv
GEORGE HEMPL.	
Biographical Record, 1894-1896	lxvii

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I. — *Superstitions and Popular Beliefs in Greek Tragedy.*

BY DR. ERNST RIESS.

THE following paper is the first attempt to collect the "Thesaurus Superstitionum," prefatory to a history of Greek and Roman superstition. If the aim had been to amass materials, I could easily have found a more fertile field. As it is, however, the yield has been beyond my expectations. Yet I know well I shall not escape the criticism of those to whom I may seem to have omitted important passages, or to have included quotations of no apparent bearing upon the subject. To them my answer is that it has been impossible to give the reasons for omission or reception of every item without unduly swelling a paper, which, from the conditions of its publication, must naturally be kept within certain limits. If I live to complete my task, all these reasons will be stated in full elsewhere.

The form of an alphabetical catalogue has seemed to be most adequate for immediate use, and to facilitate references to it in later work. The notes preceding the catalogue are intended to discuss such points as seemed to demand a more elaborate treatment, either on account of their intrinsic value, or to justify the reception of doubtful statements. But during the work I have more than once been tempted to lay down my pen, overcome by the proportions of the task.

Therefore, as in my last paper, I urgently repeat the call for fellow-workers in cataloguing the whole body of ancient literature.

Aeschyl. Choeph. 466-496.

These verses have as yet not met with the attention they undoubtedly deserve.¹ Part of the fault the poet himself seems to bear. For when the chorus addresses Orestes and Electra with the words *καὶ μὴν ἀμεμφῇ τόνδ' ἐτείνατον λόγον* (497), he plainly marks the preceding verses as an amplification of the kommos which had been sung before. In this the grief of the orphans has been set forth, and it ends with a prayer to Agamemnon (*ἄκουσον ἐς φάος μολών, ξὺν δὲ γενοῦ πρὸς ἐχθρούς* 446 f.), imploring him to come to his children's aid. This prayer is followed by an invocation of the blessed dead in general to grant their support (*ἀλλὰ κλύοντες, μάκαρες χθόνιοι, τῆσδε κατευχῆς πέμπετ' ἀρωγὴν παισὶν προφρόνως ἐπὶ νίκη* 463 ff.). This impression that the following *στιχομυθία* is only an amplification has prevailed to such an extent, that the poet has even been accused of making the action of his tragedy drag. A closer interpretation, however, will show that far from doing this he has preserved in these thirty verses an admirable bit of genuine folk-lore.

Both sister and brother begin by stating their wants, — Orestes praying that the lost throne may be restored to him, Electra that she may escape some danger threatening her from Aegisthus. For so much the corrupt passage seems to reveal. Then they tell of the good which will fall to Agamemnon's lot, if he will assist them, and at the same time the dishonorable starvation to which his refusal will expose him.² Both, now, turn for a moment to the deities of the lower world, and invoke Earth and Persephone to send their father up to the living. Then, reverting to Agamemnon, they remind him of the shameful way in which he was

¹ Erwin Rohde alone seems to interpret these lines in the right way. He calls them a "Wecklied": *Psyche*, 523, 2.

² Rohde, *ibid.*

put to death, and ask : Art thou awakened by these *ὄνειδῃ*, oh father? Finally they once more briefly state their grievances and tell the soul that its own interest requires it to help them. As we easily see, the arrangement is fourfold : first, the wish for help ; secondly, the promised honors ; thirdly, the prayer addressed to the chthonic deities ; fourthly, the wrongs suffered by Agamemnon.

The *Choephoroe* was represented in 458 B.C. I turn now to the magical papyri which are, approximately, six hundred years or more later in date. Here we shall find all four of the previously named parts used in spells, although, as far as I remember, the four nowhere occur together. This is best seen, perhaps, from the *διαβολή εἰς Σελήνην*, large Papyrus of Paris, 2573 ff. and elsewhere, and separately printed by Wessely in front of his edition.¹ The hymn first enumerates the various compounds of the sacrifice which the sorcerer is about to offer to the goddess in order that she may willingly do his bidding. This fills the first 13 verses. But with verse 14 quite another chord is sounded :

Ἦ δεῖν' ἔλεξε τοῦτό σε δεδρακέναι τὸ πρᾶγμα·
κτανεῖν γὰρ ἄνθρωπόν σ' ἔφη, πεινὲν τό θ' αἷμα τούτου²
σάρκας φαγεῖν μίτρην τε σὴν εἶναι τὰ ἔντερ' αὐτοῦ·
καὶ δέρμ' ἑλεῖν δόρκης ἅπαν κείς τὴν φύσιν σου ἐστί·³
αἶμ' ἱέρακος πελαγοδρόμον τροφή τε κἀνθαρός σοι.⁴

These are clearly *ὄνειδῃ* ; and, as in the Aeschylean prayer, *ὄνειδῃ* committed by those against whom the aid of the addressed person is invoked. Thirdly, there comes in the papyrus the prayer proper. Thus, of the Aeschylean disposition we have here parts 2, 4, 1, in this order. And we remember that in Aeschylus, too, the prayer proper is once more repeated at the end. Part 3 alone, the invocation of the gods, is missing, and justly so, because this sorcerer has

¹ C. Wessely, *Wiener Denkschriften*, XXXVI. p. 31.

² *πεινὲν τὸ αἷμ' ἀνθρώπου*, Wessely. I restored the reading of the MS.

³ *θεῖναι* W. with 2659. *ἐστί* 2597. The accusative with *ἐστί* need not offend in a poem that measures *σφαγιάζει* ∪ — ∪.

⁴ *καὶ κἀνθαρον τροφήν σοι* W. from 2660. But 2598 *τροφήν τε κἀνθαρός σοι* MS.

no higher goddess than his Selene-Hekate, living upon the flesh of the dead. This part, on the other hand, occurs e.g. in the *ἀγωγή ἐπὶ ἡρώων*, Pap. Par. 1390 ff. where Ereschigal and Persephone are asked to send up the souls of the *βαιοθάνατοι*.

Now, my thesis is this: the Aeschylean verses are a true charm-song, and probably fashioned after some spell, current in actual necromancy. But might the resemblance not be merely accidental? One might certainly say that it is incomplete. First, not all of the four parts occur together in the papyri, and secondly, while the *ἀγωγή* is really a spell conjuring up the dead, the scope of the *διαβολή* seems widely different. Now, in fact, the latter song may well be considered as belonging to chthonic rites. For, not to speak of the character of the sacrifice offered,¹ the goddess herself is called *ὄγκον βυθοῦ πνέουσα* (2601), *Μήνη*, *Ἑρμῆς καὶ Ἑκάτη* (2609), *Βασίλεια βριμώ* (2611), *Εἰνοδία* (2615). And of the spell it is said: *ὄνειροπομπεῖ, κατακλίνει, ἀναιρεῖ ἐχθρούς* (2624-5). But we may establish our view more firmly by comparing related scenes.

There is, first, in the very same *Choephorae* the prayer Electra addresses to her father's soul 116 ff. At the beginning she invokes Hermes to carry her prayer *πρὸς τοὺς γῆς ἐνερθε δαίμονας καὶ Γαῖαν αὐτήν* (3). Then she pours out her libation (2) and states her needs and wants (1 and 4 combined). And again, as in the joint prayer, she finishes by once more stating her wish. That this cannot be regarded as a mere coincidence is shown by the careful wording of the whole passage which, especially in verses 139 and 140, closely follows popular models. *Ταῦτ'*, Electra says, *ἐν μέσῳ τίθημι τῆς κακῆς ἀρᾶς*, but as the curse may reflect back on him who curses, she averts this consequence by adding: *κείνοις λέγουσα τήνδε τὴν κακὴν ἀράν*.²

¹ Its components are: *αἰγὸς ποικίλης στέαρ, ἔχωρ παρθένου νεκρᾶς, καρδία ἀώρου, οὐσία νεκροῦ κυνός, ἔμβρυον γυναικός* and so on. Of course, these frightful names are smoke and dust, and stand, as so often in these rites, for the names of harmless plants. But these herbs are still substitutes for the real thing.

² For similar cases on *devotiones*, see W. J. Battle, PROCEEDINGS AM. PHIL. ASS. XXVI. p. lvii.

Of course we have to compare the conjuring up of Darius in the *Persae*, 625 ff. Here the arrangement is as follows : 626-630 the *χθόνιοι δαίμονες* are invoked to send the ghost (3). 631-637 : Darius is asked to come and help the Persians (1). 638-655 : invocation of the *χθόνιοι* to send him (3). 655-659 : Darius is again called, and the present calamity is vividly depicted. Parts 2 and 4, as we see, are missing. But we may perhaps excuse this omission by the outlandish character of the whole scene, and by the fact that the soul of the dead king, according to the poet's representation, was always honored, while Agamemnon's had been neglected. Of *ὀνειδῆ*, of course, there could be none, as Darius had died peaceably, unless we consider the defeat of his son Xerxes an *ὄνειδος*.

Looking round among the other poets, nothing is more natural than to compare the two tragedies in which Sophokles and Euripides have treated the same subject. Sophokles, unfortunately, does not offer any material for comparison.¹ But Euripides has an elaborate prayer, *Electra* 671-682. Its arrangement is as follows : 671. 675 : Orestes asks Zeus to give him victory, and Electra concurs in this wish (676). Then he turns to Hera, the mistress of Mycene's altars (674), to have pity upon them (672), and again Electra echoes this in 673. Now Orestes invokes his father (677), — while Electra calls upon earth (678), beating it with her palm, as is usual in chthonic rites, — to help his children (679) — with all the dead, Electra adds (680), — his faithful warriors, who fell before Troy (681, Or.), and who hate the evil doers (683, El.). And with 682 Orestes brings the prayer to an end by reminding his father of his *δεινά* : *ἤκουσας, ὦ δειν' ἐξ ἐμῆς μητρὸς παθών*.² Here, again, we have some of the parts of the

¹ It seems almost as if Sophokles has protested against these scenes of witchcraft. Thus he addresses the maiden : ἀλλ' οὔτοι τίς γ' ἐξ Ἀΐδα παγκοίνου λίμνας πατέρ' ἀνστάσεις οὔτε γόουσιν οὔτ' ἀνταίς : *El.* 137-139.

² It will be seen that the order of verses followed here (671. 675. 676. 674. 672. 673. 677-681. 683. 682) is somewhat different from Kirchhoff's. I think mine to be the better one. The stichomythic correspondence (Or. a. El. b.) is indeed no longer maintained. But we have still a good correspondence : a, a, b, a, a, b. a, b. a, b. a, b. a. It must be noted that 671 certainly begins a new paragraph, marked by the silence of the *πρόσβυς*, let alone the distinct division

Aeschylean division, viz. 3. 1. 4. Only part 2, the promise of sacrifices, is omitted.

Similarly runs the thought in the touching passage of the same poet's *Orestes*: 1225-1239, where Orestes, Electra, and Pylades in their imminent peril call upon Agamemnon to help them. 1225-1234 invoke his aid and tell the dead man that his offspring is threatened by his own brother, and recount the merits of his son and daughter in avenging his violent death. Then they offer him a sacrifice (1239), their tears, indeed, for nothing else has been left to them. The similarity of the arrangement as a whole is unmistakable. But most noteworthy of all is verse 1238 when Pylades breaks in: οὐκ οὐν δ'νείδῃ τάδε κλύων ῥύσει τέκνα; Here we have again those δ'νείδῃ on which Aeschylus laid so much stress. However, none have really been mentioned in the preceding verses. The δ'νειδος here seems to be strictly hypothetical as attaching itself to Agamemnon, if he, indeed, desert his children and come not to their help. And so it almost becomes a threat. And this squares admirably with the tenor of the passage in the *Choephorae*, where Agamemnon is incited to help by the warning that otherwise he will have to go hungry among the other feasting souls.

There is one more passage, bearing upon our subject: *Helena*, 962 ff. Here Menelaos and his wife are sitting at the tomb of Proteus, and the king implores Theonoe to save him from his brother. And now he turns to the dead man and prays for his protection (962), here also adding as a threat that disgrace will follow him for all time, if he does not soften his daughter's heart (967-8). Thereupon he pleads with Hades to come to his support by influencing Proteus. For, — and we shall see that this is of far-reaching importance, — on account of Helen so many dead have

in sense. On the other hand, the grouping of the verses gains in clearness, for now Zeus alone is, and properly, invoked to give victory, while of Hera only her pity is asked. As to calling Orestes and Electra ἐκγονοί of Hera, one must think of the close relations between Mycene and Hera. For the Argive Heraion originally belonged to Mycene: Paus. II. 17. Pauly-Wissowa², II. 788, 59. Cp. also the numerous statuettes of Hera found in Mycenean tombs: Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns Ausgrabungen*, 332.

been sent to his realm, that such help has become his duty (969 ff.). And it throws an interesting light on the way in which Greeks looked upon these threats that, in vs. 1009, Theonoe refers to our passage in these words: ἀ δ' ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τῷδ' ὀνειδίζεις πατρί, ἡμῖν δδ' αὐτὸς μῦθος.

All these are examples of prayers addressed to the dead, but not falling properly within the sphere of necromancy, albeit not far different. Let us now compare a real *evocatio mortuorum*, by means of magic. *Multorum instar*,¹ I choose the famous passage from Statius' *Thebaid*, IV. 503-516:

cassusne sacerdos
audior? an rabido iubeat si Thessala cantu
ibitis? et Scythicis quotiens medicata venenis
Colchis aget, trepido pallebunt Tartara motu?
nostri cura minor, si non attollere bustis
corpora nec plenas antiquis ossibus urnas
egerere et mixtos caelique Erebiq̃ue sub unum
funestare deos libet aut exsanguia ferro
ora sequi atque aegras functorum carpere fibras?
ne tenuis annos nubemque hanc frontis opacae
spernite, ne, moneo. Et nobis saevire facultas.
Scimus enim et quicquid timetis
et turbare Hecaten . . .
et triplicis mundi summum, quem scire nefastum.

This shows clearly enough how invariably threats were connected with necromancy. Thus also the *locus classicus*, in Lucan's *Pharsalia*, VI. 570 ff., shows prayer and threats combined. Nor were, of course, these threats confined only to necromancy. In a charm intended to make the sorcerer familiar with everybody's thoughts, he threatens the gods that he will destroy the world and let the snake Apophi loose upon them, unless they give him this faculty.² Neither was this peculiar to Greek magic alone. As the passage just referred to shows Egyptian influence, so in spells of ancient Egypt the sorcerer threatens: "if a crocodile but open its

¹ For a list of evocations see G. Ettig, *Acheruntica in Leipz. Studien*, XIII.

² Papyrus *Anastasy* XLVI, 260 ff. = Wessely, *Denkschr.*, XXXVI, p. 133.

mouth, I let fall the earth. I make South North," and so forth.¹ And similar threats in necromancy are also found in the Izdubar-Nimrud epos of ancient Babylonia.²

This discussion, I think, must have made clear that the verses *Choeph.* 466-496 are not a mere reiteration of the preceding song, but are in fact, as Rohde calls them, a "Wecklied," based upon and in all their essential features taken from actually existing popular beliefs. We cannot, however, rest satisfied with this mere statement of fact.

The question now presents itself: In what direction shall we look for the original, that is to say, are the poetical passages just examined imitations of magical rites actually performed, or are these analogies taken from magic, the outgrowth of a later development? To put it more tersely, we are confronted by the old problem, as to whether prayer and charm-song are not originally identical, and is not the prayer, taken in our modern sense, only a purified spell? The number of Folk-loristic observations, at the outset, seems to favor such a view. Whithersoever we look among primitive tribes, we find charms and spells so interwoven with the sacrificial ritual that it seems impossible to disentangle the two. Nor is this aspect changed if we look at the depth instead of the width of the evidence. Even the contrite prayers on Assyrian tablets, which so aptly have been called "Busspsalmen," are said to be nothing but prayers by which a stronger god is asked to expel this or that demon who has caused sickness. And as to India, an authority like Hopkins treats under the head of magical practices³ a prayer addressed to some goddess to make a woman fruitful and gives the following hymn, calculated to procure blessings, as an example of magic in the Atharva Veda:⁴ "Blessings blow to us the wind, Blessings glow to us the sun, Blessings be to us the day, Blest to us the night appear, Blest to us the dawn shall shine." Nobody will think for a moment of contesting the antiquity of magical rites. But it seems very hard to relegate a piece of such a beauty as our Aeschylean passage to the low realm

¹ Erman, *Aegypten*, 473.

² Ettig, *Acheruntica*, 257.

³ E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, 149, 3.

⁴ Ibid. 154.

of witchcraft. More readily I should like to find both of common origin. In a paper published some years ago¹ I defined the difference between superstition and magic as follows: The magician aims at the deification of his personality, while superstitious man is always conscious that he is subject to the supernatural. The same distinction, it seems to me, must be made between prayer and spell. In prayer we ask the god for something, leaving it in his power to grant or to refuse, while the spell tries to coerce the god. But neither does this exclude a common origin nor does it stamp the spell as a degraded prayer. On the contrary, it is my opinion that to primitive man nothing that is done in regard to the supernatural is without its distinct and immediate effect. I regard the prayer in exactly the same light as the sacrifice. That the word itself is everywhere fully equivalent to a real action in primitive religious thinking, about that, I think, no doubt is permitted. It is a long time since the force of analogy in superstition and charm has been recognized; analogy, that is, of word and deed. If you say: flesh to flesh and bone to bone, in pronouncing a charm over a broken limb, you do not mean actually to command the broken parts to go together. Thus it can appear only to modern feeling. To the unbiassed primitive mind it is rather thus, that simultaneously and by analogy to my word, and by my word, the severed parts unite again. Nor is this restricted to the sphere of superstition. Says Dr. Ruben² of the passage 2 Kings xiii. 14-19: "The reality of the future stands under the influence of its dramatical prototype and pattern: supposing only, that this *δρᾶμα*, this *μύησις*, is performed by divine power." Therefore, we may advantageously shift our question from prayer to sacrifice and afterwards, as the same laws evidently govern both, draw our conclusions.

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the various opinions put forth about the nature of sacrifice. A brief statement must be sufficient. The sacrifice has been ex-

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, I. 32, 39 ff.

² Paul Ruben, *Critical Remarks upon Some Passages of the O.T.* p. 1. Compare also his note on *בָּרַךְ* in the sense of "creating," p. 3*.

plained (1) as a sign of devotion and reverence, (2) as tribute, (3) as a sign of a covenant, (4) as a means of unification with the deity. But with all due deference to the authors of these explanations I must say that, taken singly, none of them seems to meet satisfactorily all the aspects of the sacrifice. Nor is this to be expected. I am convinced, although not yet fully prepared to prove, that it is a mistake, only too frequently made in mythological research, to assume simplicity of thinking, where, on the contrary, the highest complexity should be expected. It is not in the character of primitive man to think, as it were, in a straight line and to work out *one* thought. Such clearness of reasoning as is required for this process is a product only of long and severe training during many generations. As I understand it, many threads come together and are tightly interwoven to make up the texture of primitive thought. Not to one cause alone, but to a multiplicity of causes, presenting themselves all at the same time, does primitive man ascribe the effects that fall under his notice. It is in this sense that I desire the following discussion to be received, not as one that offers *the* principle of sacrifice in intercourse with the divine power, but as discussing *one* principle among many. And now to proceed *in medias res*.

The most striking feature of all sacrifices, to my mind, is the necessity of tasting in some way of the meat offered. This, in fact, is found everywhere, with two exceptions, viz. the sacrifices to the dead and their gods, and the so-called piacular or conciliatory sacrifices. Of course, this has not escaped the attention of others. The most generally accepted view nowadays seems to be the one first hinted at by Liebrecht¹ and afterwards elaborately worked out by William Robertson Smith² and, in his footsteps, by Frazer.³ Their idea, in short, is that by eating of the sacrificial meat the worshipper eats of the god himself, and by doing this acquires

¹ Felix Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 436 ff.

² W. R. Smith in *Encyclop. Brit.* "Sacrifice," and in his *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 2d ed.

³ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*.

a part of the divine nature.¹ But I think that another explanation is at least plausible and answers better. To state my thesis at the outset : by the sacrifice the worshipper wants to enter into a blood-covenant with the god exactly as he can enter into a blood-covenant with his fellow-men. For the history and the frequency of blood-covenanting it suffices to refer to Trumbull's book.² Trumbull, indeed, states that such blood-covenanting with a god was clearly practised in Egypt,³ but as I do not know enough of Egyptian ritual, I shall not enter on this topic. But he gives enough of other examples to show of such actual occurrences. Thus in India, "the devotee, in the Devil-Dance, cuts and lacerates himself till the blood flows, . . . drinks the blood which flows from his own wounds, or drains the blood of the sacrifice ; putting the throat of a decapitated goat to his mouth."⁴ Here the explanation of the god thought incarnate in the sacrifice seems still plausible, and is, indeed, adopted by Trumbull himself. On the other hand, it is not at all necessary to mingle the two kinds of blood. Thus in Borneo "it would seem from the description of Mr. Hatton that, in some instances, the blood-covenanting is by the substitute blood of a fowl held by the two parties to the covenant, while its head is cut off by a third party ; without any drinking of each other's blood by those who enter into the covenant."⁵ A still more striking instance is reported of the Sioux. Where one Dakota takes the other as his "koda," *i.e.* god or friend, they become "brothers."⁶

If thus we have proved the possibility that sacrifice may be a vicarious means of blood-covenanting, let us see how far this view meets the various aspects of the sacrifice. The privileges and obligations of the blood-covenant may be summed up as follows. Both covenanters become of the same kin : this would cover Smith-Frazer's idea of sacrifice. They share all their belongings, from meals and tents on-

¹ Smith follows this view more outspokenly in his *Lectures* than in the *Encyclopædia*.

² H. Clay Trumbull, *The Blood-Covenant*.

⁴ *Ibid.* 92.

⁶ *Ibid.* 52.

³ p. 79.

⁵ *Ibid.* 55, 4.

wards to the most cherished possessions. How far this may pertain even to human sacrifices has been well stated by Trumbull himself.¹ But the most striking instance of it, to my knowledge, is found in a late magical papyrus.² Here we read: παρατίθει αὐτῷ (τῷ θεῷ, scil.) ἐξ ὧν μεταλαμβάνεις βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν. And the effect of such commensality is declared to be: τελευτήσαντός σου τὸ σῶμα περιστελεῖ ὡς πρέπον θεῷ· σοῦ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα βαστάξας εἰς ἀέρα ἄξει σὺν αὐτῷ· εἰς γὰρ Ἄιδην οὐ χωρήσει ἀέριον πνεῦμα συσταθὲν κραταιῷ παρέδρω. The pledge of blood-covenanting, furthermore, involves mutual protection: this, too, is one of the features of the cult: the god is not only asked, but required to help his worshippers, as *they* are bound not to let him starve. And the neglect of these duties involves the deepest disgrace. Here, I think, we have the origin of the queer custom, still existing among the lower classes of Roman Catholic faith, e.g. in Italy, where I myself witnessed such an occurrence, the custom of chiding and abusing the god who refuses his help. For when mere asking does not suffice to rouse the activity, then *ὀνειδίη* may awake the ire of the contracting party and recall his sense of honor.

And now to return to the analogue of sacrifice, to the prayer. It is clear that all these principles apply equally well to this. But, moreover, the idea of covenanting seems, to me at least, fully to explain what has been styled the business-like, bargain-striking feature, especially of Roman worship, but no less of Greek prayer. When Chryses, driven out from the Greek camp and running along the shore, prays to Apollon, "if ever I have roofed over for thee a pleasing temple or if ever I have offered thee sacrifices, come thou now to my help and avenge me," he decidedly reminds the god of the duties which he has taken upon himself, as it were, by contract. And the god immediately obeys. Now, this idea of reciprocity was not restricted to Greeks and Romans alone. Nowhere, perhaps, is it more forcibly expressed than in the Old Testament, which repeatedly enjoins duties upon the

¹ Trumbull, see Index: sacrifices, human.

² Papyrus mag. Berol. ed. Parthey, *Abhandl. Berl. Akad.* 1865, 169-70, 177 ff.

Hebrews with the distinct understanding that under these conditions God, too, will fulfil his part of the contract and not withhold his blessings. It would be utterly wrong to ascribe this "business-idea" to the mercantile spirit of the peoples concerned, in face of its almost universal occurrence. On the other hand, if we derive it from a contract by covenant shaped after human models, it is easy to explain. But I think it superfluous to heap example upon example.

One more word in conclusion. It should now be clear that neither prayer nor charm-song, on the basis of our explanation, can claim priority over each other; but that both have been derived from the common source of the "covenant-reminder." In the charm-song its obligatory side is more sharply pronounced, although, especially in the contract form, traces are still to be found in prayer. This, however, emphasizes more the voluntary side, until, with a steady moral progress, it has become purified and cleansed of all the grosser features adhering to its ancestor. Thus far the charm-song claims rightly to be the more original, and bears out the definition of superstition as religion become *stark*. It is a survival of an earlier stage of intercourse with the divine power. But to repeat this finally once more, I am far from seeing in this discussion *the* explanation and panacea. Many are the threads of the texture, and — *dies diem docebit*—slowly we must continue to unravel them one after the other.

Aeschyl. Choeph. 959–962 :

τάχα δὲ παντελὴς χρόνος ἀμείψεται	
πρόθυρα δωμάτων, ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας	960
μύσος πᾶν ἐλαθῇ	
καθαρμοῖσιν ἅτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις.	

E. Rohde¹ has admirably shown that purification is by no means a requirement of morals, but is simply meant to drive away evil spirits. The passage quoted above bears him out more clearly than any other I know, because of the words ὅταν ἀφ' ἐστίας πᾶν μύσος ἐλαθῇ καθαρμοῖσιν ἅτᾶν ἐλατηρίοις.

¹ *Psyche*, 364 ff.

This latter expression is well explained by the scholiast, who quotes the noun formed from it: ἐλατήριον· τὸ καθαρτικὸν φάρμακον. It is noteworthy that this μύσος, which has to be driven out, has its seat at the hearth. For here the spirits of the deceased ancestors dwell, and among them as μύσος the souls of the two βιαιοθάνατοι in the family of Atreus, Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra.

Aeschyl. Suppl. 202-3:

Δα. καὶ Ζηνὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλήσκετε.

Χο. καλοῦμεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου σωτηρίους.

Have we here obscure traces of a belief which considered the sun to be a bird? If ὄρνις were used here in its figurative meaning, as seer, prophet, we should simply think of the frequent identification of Helios and Apollo. But this is impossible, since in the very next two verses Apollo himself is expressly addressed. The scholiast must have had in mind an explanation similar to mine. He writes as follows: τὸν ἡλίον· ἐξανίστησι γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὡς ὁ ἀλεκτρυών. However, he seems to be mistaken as to the character of the bird. For surely, everybody, in hearing of the bird of Zeus, would first of all think of the god's faithful companion, the eagle. Such a view, I think, cannot have been strange to the Greek mind. Surely we are past the time when it was a sacrilege to speak of animal worship among the Greeks. The numerous animals, under the disguise of which demons were wont to appear,¹ the general worship bestowed upon the snake,² ought to convince even those whom neither Cook³ nor Milchhoefer⁴ has as yet taught the truth. Nor will the student of Folk-Lore look askance at this explanation. For to him many examples of similar "incarnations" are known.⁵ But an

¹ Cp. Bienkowski, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 295.

² See Furtwängler, *La Collection Sabouroff*, introduction; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, index.

³ *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894, 81 ff.

⁴ *Anfaenge der Kunst.* 54 ff.

⁵ E.g. Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 84 ff.; bird and sun connected also in the Slavic Baruch-book: Gött. Gel. Anz. 1896, 98.

authority on Greek mythology will, I hope, more fully set this forth at a not too distant day. I must add, however, that by accepting my view, a superstition may be satisfactorily explained which I, at least, have always felt it difficult to understand. I refer to the miraculous legend that the *άλιαίετος* compels his breed to look into the sun, and kills those whose eyes shed tears, a tale which is told as early as Aristotle,¹ and which, of course, has not escaped a moral interpretation.

I have never been able to believe in the common and rationalistic explanation of the matter; viz. that the legend is founded on the sharp sight of the eagle, from which the proverbial "eagle eye" is derived. On the other hand, once we admit that eagle and sun were related, because the sun himself was an eagle, all seems to be plain to me. Thus the family of Aietes inherited from their ancestor, the Sun-god, the sunny eye.² At this point it also becomes clear why the eagle, the bird related to the sun, holds so prominent a place among the oracle birds. For the sun sees everything.³ Nor, do I think, is it very difficult to see why the sun was believed to be an eagle. But *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκε*, and I must be satisfied at present to refer the reader to Usener's paper on Pasparios.⁴

Sophokl. Aias, 661-663.

Aias has started out to bury the sword with which he killed the cattle of the Greeks. For this sword is a gift from Hector, he says, and ever since I got it, I have been pursued by misfortune.

ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἀληθὴς ἡ βροτῶν παροιμία
ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὀνήσιμα.

Wolff in his notes refers us for this passage to the Greek custom of removing instruments of murder from the society

¹ *Hist. an.* IX. 34. Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, I. 371, 53-65.

² Apollon. Rhod. *Argon.* IV. 124.

³ 'Ἡέλιος, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς Γ, 277. Cp. the German 'die Sonne bringt es an den Tag.'

⁴ *Rhein. Mus.* XLIX, 461 ff.

of men. But the reason which the poet himself gives hardly agrees with this ; and still less the proverb which Aias quotes, and to which the editors refer the saying of Laocoon in the *Aeneid*.¹ The true reason, of course, is exactly that given by Sophokles himself. Whatever we get from an enemy is "no good." For an evil charm lies upon such gifts and they bring to their owner nothing but ill-luck. In one word, they are fascinated.² Thus the presence of witches and of the archfiend himself, in modern superstition, either brings about misfortune or, at least, turns to naught.³ On this idea we must base our understanding of Aias' action. He does not simply throw away his sword, — for it might return to him, — but he buries it in the soil, as things infected with an evil charm are buried, e.g. in sympathetic cures.⁴ Moreover, earth has the power to bind the evil force and to make it inefficient, as in many rites of ancient superstition.⁵ And our passage may perhaps help us to understand why this is so. For in vs. 660 Aias says: ἀλλ' αὐτὸ νῦν Ἰδης τε σφάζοντων κάτω. That is to say, by burying the sword it is handed over to the chthonic deities, to keep it from light. The same idea underlies the custom of burying the magical papyri with their owners. For there is something uncanny about the implements of witchcraft that makes them liable to wreak a curse on their innocent possessors. Therefore it is good to get rid of them. And where are they more securely kept from returning than in Hades? That Aias is not simply doing away with his sword, when he buries it, is shown, if need be, by vs. 657 ff. :

μολών τε χώρον ἐνθ' ἂν ἀστιβῇ κίχῳ
κρύψω τόδ' ἔγχος, ἔχθιστον βελῶν,
γαίας ὀρύξας ἐνθα μή τις ὄψεται,

precautions which too closely resemble the measures taken in superstitious actions to be ascribed to a mere coincidence.

¹ II. 49.

² Cp. 817 ff.: δῶρον μὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἑκτορος ξένων ἐμοὶ μάλιστα μισηθέντος, ἐχθίστου δ' ὀρέων.

³ Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*,² § 395.

⁴ Ibid. §§ 492-495. Cp. Geopon. X. 67, 3.

⁵ Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclop.* I. 44, 32 ff.

Sophokl. fg. 181 N².

In his 'Ἑλένης ἀπαίτησις Sophokles, according to Strabo, told that it was Calchas' fate to die as soon as he should meet with a stronger or better soothsayer. Simple as this little tale seems, it has a most interesting bearing upon some mythological questions. Why must Calchas die, if he is defeated by a member of the guild? We might first think of tales like that of the Sphinx who kills herself after Oedipus has solved her riddle. But this legend itself is too closely connected with numerous fairy tales from everywhere, in which the power of a demon is broken as soon as some puzzle he proposes is solved, or as soon as somebody comes who sees through his disguise.¹ On the other hand we have a curious and instructive passage in Pseudo-Jamblichus' book *περὶ μυστηρίων*² on the power of the so-called ἀντίθεος. That is to say, if a magician had secured some "spiritus familiaris" who ministered to his wants and then met another magician who had compelled some δαίμων of higher rank to be his servant, the might of the former one was broken, overcome by the stronger spirit. It seems to me that the Sophoklean legend runs in this line of thought. Nor can I believe it to be a mere αὐτοσχεδίασμα of the poet himself. The facts referred to thus far show that such beliefs must have been common currency. In whatever light we look upon Calchas, whether as an enthusiastic prophet after the fashion of the poet's time, or as possessor of the ἐντεχνος μαντική,³ in either case he was believed to act under the influence of a god from whom he derived his power. Meeting another soothsayer therefore means that he has met a stronger god. And before this one his own "spiritus" gives way, and the prophet himself must die. Now this, I think, should warn us not to put too implicit a faith in Frazer's⁴ explanation of the duel between the priest at Nemi and his would-be successor.

¹ See Laistner, *Das Rätsel der Sphinx*.

² Ps.-Jambl. π. μυστ. II. 10, 53; III. 31. See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 58.

³ For this difference see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination*, and Daremberg-Saglio s. *Divination*; cp. also Rohde's *Psyche*, 344 ff.

⁴ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 213 ff.

According to Frazer the god, embodied in his priest, cannot be allowed to become old and impotent, and therefore his representative is killed, that he make room for a new and vigorous incarnation. But it seems to me unnecessary to assume that one and the same god is thought to exist in an always resplendent state of youth, so that only his visible avatar continue to be strong. To the Greeks at least another line of thought was equally familiar. To them a god might die, yet be reborn.¹ A last faint remnant of this belief may even be found in the unplastic language of Greek astronomers when they speak of the new moon as *γέννα σελήνης*. The moon dies with the last quarter, but newly born, she comes forth again in all her strength in the new phase. Now as here a new personality continually takes the place of the old, distinct from its predecessor, yet emphatically of the same nature, thus, as I conceive it, is the process also in the cases stated by Frazer. And we have the same thought, only differently developed in the Calchas' legend and the group of cognate tales alluded to above. Only here the god is also different in person. I am far from denying that in many cases Frazer's explanation is right. But, as I did in the discussion of sacrifice, I must make this point: that it is futile to reduce all and every similar ritual or mythological occurrence to the same formula. Complexity, not simplicity, must be our watchword.

Sophokl. fg. 910 N²:

καὶ ἀμφώβολα, φασί, παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ αἱ διὰ σπλάγχνων μαντεῖαι.

Eustath. 1405, 30. Nauck compares Hesych. I. p. 166, ἀμφώβολα · ἡ διὰ τῶν σπλάγχνων μαντεῖα, but he adds: grammatici isti quae tradunt, mihi videntur incredibilia. Now, I cannot see why these notices should be incredible. Surely there is nothing strange in Sophokles mentioning a prophecy from the entrails, which was largely practised in Greece no less than in Etruria. Here the monuments come to our aid.

¹ See also Usener *Goetternamen*, 228 ff.

There exists a large number of vases representing sacrificial scenes, on which we see men or women holding spits over a fire. The points of these spits always are completely covered with what must be meat.¹ Now that this was not meat for the meal, but used for some ritual purpose, is proved by the nature of the fire, which in all cases is burning on the altar. The only remaining difficulty would be the designation of meat as *σπλάγχνα*. But this is guarded by Virgil, who surely, if ever a poet, took pains to use the technical expressions of the cult. Servius remarks to *Aen.* VI. 253: viscera; non exta dicit, sed carnes. Nam viscera sunt quicquid inter ossa et cutem est. Thus, no doubt, the Eustathius and Hesychius passages acquire their justification, and since Professor H. W. Smyth kindly informs me that there are no linguistic objections to the form *ἀμφώβολα*, it will henceforth be safe from any attack.

Eurip. Alc. 428-9:

τέθριππά θ' οἱ ζεύγνυσθε καὶ μονάμπυκας
πώλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνεντ' αὐχένων φόβην.

These lines, beautiful in their expression of overpowering grief, may to most readers seem no more than a poetical exaggeration. They have preserved to us, however, a trace of a primitive custom, widely spread among Aryan peoples at least. When the owner of an estate in Germany dies, according to a popular superstition, his death must be announced to all the animals thereon, nay, even to the fruit-trees in the orchard.²

¹ For the quotations and for drawings of the more important vessels I am much indebted to my friend Dr. Robert Zahn in Heidelberg. Most monuments belonging here are enumerated by Stephani, *C. R.* p. 1868, p. 132. I give only the most important ones: 1, *C. R.* 1868, VI. 1; 2, *Arch. Zeitg.* 1845, 35, 2 = *Journ. Hell. Stud.* IX. 1 (Brit. Mus. E 494); 3, Gerhard, *A. V.* 155, 1; 4, *Ibid.* 155, 2 = Baumeister, *Denkmäler f.* 1303; 5, *Mon. Inst.* VI. 8; 6, *Mon. Inst.* IX. 53; 7, Heydemann, *Hall. Winckelmannsprog.* 1880; 8, *Él. céram.* II. 108; 9, *Catal. Brit. Mus.* III. pl. XVII (E 505).

² Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*,² § 727.

Meaningless as this custom now seems, we have in it a remnant of the old idea, that the domestic animals form an integral part of the family. The same idea shows itself in other superstitious rites.¹ And, therefore, in some parts of Bohemia, when the master dies, they hang crape over the beehives, exactly as they put red cloth over them when a wedding takes place.² And now, I think, it is clear that here we have more than merely an exaggeration by the poet. The Thracians are asked to shear their horses as a sign of mourning for their dead queen, exactly as they would do if a member of their own household died. I think it not impossible that Euripides refers here to some actually existing custom of the North, of which, by the frequent intercourse between this part of the Balkan peninsula and Attica, the poet might have had some knowledge even before his own visit to Macedonia.

Eurip. Alc. 756.

Why is the drinking-cup, out of which Hercules feasts in the house of Admetus, called *κισσινὸς ποτήρ*? The scholiast is silent about it. But Cato³ and Pliny⁴ inform us that ivy wood was believed to be permeable by water, but not by wine, so that cups of this material were used to test whether wine was adulterated or not. I am inclined to see in this the reason why Euripides mentions the material of the cup. It is true the Greeks usually put water into their wine. But with the gluttonous character of the hero, as Admetus' slave describes him, the potation of unmixed wine, which was ordinarily a sign of immoderacy, seems to agree very well.

Eurip. Hel. 1065-6:

ἀλλ' οὐ νομίζειν φήσομεν καθ' Ἑλλάδα
χέρσῳ καλύπτειν τοὺς θανόντας ἐναλίου.

¹ Thus a new cock is received into the family, by being led three times round the table: Aelian. N. A. II. 30; cp. about this and similar modern superstitions, Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclop.* I. 30, 35-66.

² Grohmann, *Aberglaube aus Böhmen*, § 606.

³ Cato, *de agri cult.* 111.

⁴ Pliny, *N. H.* XVI. 155.

This is the reason which Helen will give to the king of Egypt, if he should ask her why she cannot bury the dead Greeks on the mainland. And later on we hear from Menelaus that the bodies must be sent out so far ὥστ' ἐξορᾶσθαι ῥόθια χερσόθεν μόλις (1269). And when Theoklymenos asks for the reason of this, the hero answers: ὡς μὴ πάλιν γῆ λύματ' ἐκβάλλῃ κλυδών. Numerous funeral inscriptions in honor of shipwrecked persons show that really this was only a pretence. But was this always so? It is, at least, a curious coincidence, that even in our days the fisher population along the shores of the North Sea do not like to pick up the bodies of drowned men, because that forebodes ill-luck. Instances of this belief have been mentioned in English newspapers as late as 1894. The very use Euripides makes of this pretence seems to render it not unlikely that in some parts of Greece even in his time the same superstition may have prevailed.

Eurip. fg. 664 N²:

πесὸν δέ μιν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερὸς,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐδᾶ· τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ.

"The Greeks, too, had the custom not to pick up whatever falls to the ground from the dinner-table, but to leave it to the souls roaming about in the house." Thus Rohde, *Psyche*, 224, 1, with regard to Athen. X. 427 E, where our passage is quoted. But these verses show more than the mere existence of this fact. Not only were the souls believed to wait hungrily for the crumbs which fell from the tables of the living, but one may even assign this refuse to certain souls. We can hardly believe that souls of every description were thought to haunt any given house. Much more likely is it, in view of the correlation between dinner-table and hearth, that only the dead of the family were lingering round their former abode. Now, as the Κορίνθιος ξένος cannot be counted among these, the queen must have believed in the possibility of sending food to the beloved foreigner by some one of his comrades, whom she charges with this commission.

Apparently the souls were thought not only to feed themselves, but also to carry away some food for those of their mates who had stayed behind in Hades. And it is in this way that the queen sends her offerings to Bellerophon.

Ion fg. 54 N²:

ἐξῆλθον ὑμῶν ἰκέτις ἡβώντων τροφὸς
παίδων, βόθρους λιποῦσα πενθητηρίους.

These lines are quoted by Plutarch, *consol. ad Apollon.* c. 2, p. 113 B, in support of an alleged (ἱστοροῦσιν) rite of mourning. "Some," he says, "hide themselves in pits and remain there several days, unwilling to see the light of the sun, since the dead, also, has been deprived of this boon." We may pass over Plutarch's explanation. But does this entitle us to think lightly of the rest of this account, as, to my knowledge, every one has done who has hitherto treated of burial rites? Notwithstanding this general and silent condemnation, I am inclined to find here a survival of a very old ceremony. It has been established beyond a doubt that among Aryan peoples originally the widow and the favorite slaves of the dead were killed at his tomb.¹ Traces of this are found in the human bones existing alongside of the dead bodies in Mycenaean tombs.² It is further well known that in a milder age substitutes for the cruel sacrifice were introduced, as hair offering and so forth.³ Another substitute for this, I think, has been preserved in the rite mentioned by Plutarch. Here a temporal burial, first, perhaps, compulsory and afterwards voluntary, has replaced the lasting deposition. I hesitate, however, to put this view forth as more than a hypothesis, as long, at least, as no proof is forthcoming from other sources.

¹ Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, 565.

² Rohde, *Psyche*, 16, 31 ff.

³ Rohde, *ibid.* 16, 1. As to substitutes for the so-called 'suttee,' see Tylor, *Early Culture*, I. 465 ff.

INDEX.

A.

Ἀδράστεια, (Eurip.) Rhes. 467-8; s. undecried.

αἰζῶον, magical herb, Aeschyl. fg. 28. 29 N².

ἄγνος, fg. ad. 396 N²; s. sympathy.

amulet (lions' claws): Aeschyl. Sisyph. fg. 225 N²; s. bells. (lions' heads) fg. ad. 230 N².

(snakes), Eurip. Ion, 24-6, 1427-31.

(horses), (Eurip.) Rhes. 306; s. Gorgo.; (Eurip.) Rhes. 308; s. bells.

Ἀνταία (spectre), Aeschyl. Semele, fg. 223 N²; Sophokl. fg. 69 N², 311 N², 368 N²; schol. Eurip. Or. 1454.

ἀντίθεος, Sophokl. fg. 181 N²; s. p. 21.

ἀπαύλημα (spectre), Sophokl. fg. 915 N².

apotropaeum, Eurip. Phoen. 631 and schol.

ἄποτροπιασμός (of dreams), Aeschyl. Persae, 201 ff.; Sophokl. El. 424-5; Eurip. Hecub. 68-82 (*ἀποπέμπομαι*); Iphig. Taur. 42-3.

Asia (seat of witches), Eurip. Androm. 159-60: s. women, witches.

astrology, Sophokl. fg. 671 N² (doubtful); Eurip. Melanippa f. 482 N².

B.

Barbarians' speech like that of birds: Aeschyl. Agam. 1003-4; fg. 450 N²; Eurip. fg. 907 N²; Ion, fg. 33 N²; s. birds.

βάσκανος, Sophokl. fg. 931 N²; fg. ad. 533 N²; s. evil eye.

bat, uncanny? fg. 681 N².

bells (as amulet), Aeschyl. Sept. 368-9; (Eurip.) Rhes. 308; s. amulet.

βαιοθάνατοι (spectres), Aeschyl. Eumen. 98 (doubtful).

excite mania, Eurip. Herc. fur. 966-7.

birds, speech like barbarians'; s. barb.

mantic from; s. *οἰωνιστική*.

black, color of the Erinyes, Eurip. Or. 321.

blood, love charm, Sophokl. Trach. 575.

stains after murder? Aeschyl. Choeph. 1009-10.

wiped off on the corpse, Sophokl. El. 445-6; s. *μασχαλισμός*.

blowing, Aeschyl. Suppl. 43; 555 ff.; cp. 552.

burial, of drowned people forbidden, Eurip. Hel. 1065-6; s. p. 25.

of those killed by lightning, Eurip. Suppl. 934-38; Phaeton fg. 786 N².

unburied corpses as spectres, Eurip. Hecub. 1-54.

C.

Castor as St. Elmo's fire, Eurip. Or. 1637.

charms, Eurip. Androm. 32-3; Med. 384-5, 787-9, 1168 ff.; fg. ad. 317 N².

of Orpheus, Eurip. Alc. 966-9.

against fire, Eurip. Androm. 271-3.

against snake bites, Eurip. Androm. 269 ff.

against sterility, Eurip. Med. 717-8.

charms against love, Eurip. Hippol.
387-9, 509-12, 516.
excite hatred between husband
and wife, Eurip. Androm.
157-8; cp. 205; s. love-charms.
charm-song, Aeschyl. Agam. 973-5;
1372; Eum. 327; 338; 639;
Prom. 174-6; Sophokl. O. C.
1192-4; fg. 87 N², 491 N², 492
N²; Eurip. Bacch. 234; Cycl.
646-8; Hecub. 1272; Hippol.
478-9; Phoen. 1036 and schol.
Phoen. 1260.
healing, Sophokl. Ai. 581-2;
Trach. 1001-3; fg. ad. 364 N².
causes eclipse of the moon, Sosi-
phanes, fg. 1 N².
in necromancy, Sophokl. El.
137-9.
copper, used in herb-gathering,
Sophokl. 491 N².
Corinthians, a people of wizards,
schol. Eurip. Med. 11.
covering, of implements in gather-
ing herbs, Sophokl. fg. 491 N².
crib, snakes on it, as amulet, Eurip.
Ion, 24-26.
crumbs under the dinner-table,
Eurip. fg. 664 N²; s. p. 25.
curses, against the evil eye, Agathon,
fg. 23 N².
cyclamen, magical herb, Sophokl.
N², p. 248.

D.

Δαμονίζεσθαι, Sophokl. fg. 173 N²;
s. evil eye.
dead, as spectres, Eurip. Alc. 1127;
Phoen. 1543-5.
harm men, fg. ad. 370 N².
drink blood, Sophokl. O. C. 621-2;
Eurip. Hecub. 535-8.
death, and prophecy, Aeschyl. Agam.
1250-2.
makes unclean, Eurip. Alc. 22-3.

death, lord of souls, Eurip. Alc.
843; 1140.
marks his victims, Eurip. Alc.
74-6; Phryn. Alc. fg. 3 N².
fetches his victims, Eurip. Alc.
24 ff.
feeds on the tomb, Eurip. Alc.
843-5.
demon = soul, Eurip. Alc. 1140.
sends mania, Sophokl. Ai. 278-9;
fg. 227 N²; Achaïos, fg. 30 N².
= animal, Aeschyl. Agam. 1631.
dogs as souls, Aeschyl. Choeph.
917; 1051; Eurip. fg. 469 N²?
= *κῆρες*, Eurip. El. 1252-3;
1342-3.
dreams, interpretation of, Aeschyl.
Prom. 487-8.
interpreter, Aeschyl. Choeph.
31-3.
prophetic, Sophokl. El. 498-500;
fg. ad. 375 N²; s. *ἀποτροπιασ-
μός*.
drowned people, not buried, Eurip.
Hel. 1065-6; s. p. 25; cp. burial.

E.

Eagle, and snake, Sophokl. Antig.
113-126 and schol.; s. sym-
pathy.
earth, binding force of, Aeschyl.
Pers. 222-3; Sophokl. Ai. 657
ff.; s. fascination.
receives libations in purifying,
Sophokl. O. C. 482.
ἐχίδνα, Aeschyl. Choeph. 991-2; s.
μύραινα.
eclipse, of moon, effected by magic,
Sosiph. fg. 1, N².
Εἰνοδία, Eurip. Ion, 1048-50.
St. Elmo's fire = Helen and the Di-
oscuri, Eurip. Or. 1637; fg. ad.
463 N².
elves in the house, Eurip. Hel. 819-
20.

ἐμπυρομαντεία, Aeschyl. Prom. 500-1; Sophokl. Antig. 1005-11; Eurip. Bacch. 255-7; Hel. 746; 756; Ion, 374-77, s. haruspicine; Iph. Taur. 15-16; Phoen. 954-5; 1255-8; Suppl. 155; 211-12.
 ἐνόδοι σύμβολοι, Aeschyl. Prom. 489.
 envy (Eurip.), Rhes. 455-8.
 ἐπακτός, Sophokl. Trach. 491-2; Eurip. Hippol. 318; s. sickness, witchcraft.
 epilepsy, sent by gods, Sophokl. fg. 589 N².
 Erinyes = spectre. Aeschyl. Eum. 106-9.
 name not to be mentioned, Sophokl. O. C. 129; Eurip. Or. 37-8; s. name, souls.
 as beast, Eurip. Iph. Taur. 291-4; Or. 260.
 as snake, Aeschyl. Eum. 128; Eurip. Iph. Taur. 285-7; Or. 256.
 dog-shaped? Sophokl. El. 1386-8.
 brass-footed? Sophokl. El. 488-91.
 of black color, Eurip. Or. 322; s. black.
 cannibalic, Aeschyl. Eum. 301; Eurip. Or. 256-61 and schol.
 sucks blood, Aeschyl. Eum. 181-2; 260-3; 297-8 and schol.; Sophokl. Ai. 843-4; Eurip. Androm. 978; Iph. Taur. 934-5; Or. 256.
 midnight their time, Aeschyl. Eum. 109.
 evil eye, Aeschyl. Agam. 910-11; Eum. 361-2; Prom. 360; 900-1; Suppl. 970-2; Eurip. fg. 209 N²; fg. 294 N²; fg. 403 N²; fg. 933 N²? Hippothoon, fg. 2 N²; fg. ad. 167 N²; fg. ad. 533 N².

evil eye works "possession," Sophokl. fg. 173 N²; s. δαιμονίζεσθαι.
 falls on prominence or riches, Sophokl. Ai. 157; fg. ad. 547 N².
 protection against, Sophokl. O. T. 159-64.
 curse against, Agathon, fg. 23 N².
 falls back on the possessor, Karinos, fg. 8 N²; s. βάσκανος.

F.

Face, turned away in herb gathering, Sophokl. fg. 491 N².
 fascination, Aeschyl. Agam. 447-50 ("becried"); Sophokl. fg. 433 N²; s. ἱυγέ.
 by gifts, Sophokl. Ai. 661-5; cp. 817-8; s. p. 19.
 fire, purifying, Eurip. Or. 40 and schol.
 gods appear in it, Eurip. Bacch. 1082-5; fg. ad. 33 N².
 breaks charm? Sophokl. Trach. 607 and schol.
 invoked in charming? Sophokl. fg. 492 N².
 charm against? Eurip. Androm. 271-3.

G.

Gods, appear in fire, Eurip. Bacch. 1082-5; fg. ad. 33 N²; s. fire.
 secret names of, Eurip. fg. 781 N².
 gold, and spectres, Eurip. Hecub. 110.
 and death, in ritual, Eurip. Hecub. 152 and schol. (doubtful).
 Gorgo, as headless spectre, Eurip. Alc. 1118.
 as amulet (Eurip.) Rhes. 306; s. amulet.

H.

Hades, huntsman, Aeschyl. Agam. 1069 (doubtful).

Hades, cannibalic, Sophokl. El. 542-3.
 fetches his victims, Eurip. Alc. 259-61; Sosiphanes, fg. 3 N²; fg. ad. 127 N².
 sends spectres, Eurip. Phoen. 810-11.
 = Thanatos, Eurip. Alc. 225.
 mother of, Aeschyl. Agam. 1189.
 hands, both used in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 483.
 haruspication, Sophokl. fg. 910 N²? Eurip. El. 827-9; Ion, 374-7; Suppl. 212-3; s. *ἐμπυρομαντεία*; s. p. 22.
 hearth, cult of, Aeschyl. Agam. 1009-10; Sophokl. Philoct. 533-5 and schol.
 and dining-table, Aeschyl. Atham. fg. 1 N².
 seat of the house-elf, Eurip. Hel. 819-20; s. elves.
 Hekate, image of, in front of house, Aeschyl. fg. 388 N².
 swarm of, Eurip. Hel. 570; fg. ad. 375 N².
 sends spectres, Eurip. Hel. 569.
 goddess of witches, Eurip. Med. 394-6.
 invoked in charm-song? Sophokl. fg. 492 N⁸.
 Helen, as St. Elmo's fire, Eurip. Or. 1637; s. St. Elmo's fire.
 herbs, rites in gathering of, Sophokl. fg. 491 N²; s. charm-song, copper, covering, face, nudity, *ῥιζοτόμοι*.
 Hippalectryon, apotropaeic, Aeschyl. fg. 134 N².
 honey, in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 481.
 -cakes appease the dead, Eurip. Iph. Taur. 165-6.
 horses, protected by amulets (Eurip.) Rhes. 306; 308; s. amulet, bells, Gorgo.

horses, shorn in sign of mourning, Eurip. Alc. 428-9; s. p. 23.

I.

Ἰατρομαντις, Aeschyl. Agam. 1593-4; Eum. 62? Suppl. 250-6? fg. 460 N².
 ivy, chthonic plant, Iophon, fg. 3 N².
 used for drinking-cups? Eurip. Alc. 756; s. p. 24.
ἰνυγέ, of the love-exciting force of the eye, Sophokl. fg. 433 N²; s. evil eye.

K.

Κῆρες, cannibalic, Aristias of Phlius, fg. 3 N².
 as dogs, Eurip. El. 1252-3; 1342-3.
κληδών, Aeschyl. Prom. 489; Sophokl. El. 1108-10.
κληρομαντεία, Eurip. Phoen. 838.

L.

Lamia, Eurip. fg. 922 N².
 laurel, incites to enthusiasm, Sophokl. fg. 811 N².
 laws against witchcraft, Eurip. Androm. 355-60.
 left, unlucky, Sophokl. Ai. 183.
 lightning, and paradise, Aeschyl. *Ἀργεῖοι*, fg. 17 N².
 locked up, Aeschyl. Eum. 812-14.
 and burial, Eurip. Suppl. 934-8; Phaethon, fg. 786 N²; s. burial.
 love-charm, Sophokl. Trach. 575; s. blood; Trach. 1138-9.

M.

Magic, Eurip. Or. 1497-8; F. T. G.² p. 550-1; s. Thessaly; fg. ad. 592 N².
 magician, contemptible position of, Sophokl. O. T. 387-9.

magician, as necromancer, Python, fg. 1 N².

causes eclipse of the moon, Sossiphanes, fg. 1 N².

mania, sent by gods or demons, Sophokl. Ai. 172-82; 278-9; 450-2; 457-9; 611; fg. 227 N²; Eurip. Hippol. 141-4; Achaïos, fg. 30 N².

mantic, Aeschyl. Prom. 486.

μασχαλισμός, Aeschyl. Choeph. 427-30; fg. 354 N²; Sophokl. El. 444-5 and schol.; cp. O. T. 1371-3; fg. 485 N²; 566 N².

medicine, connected with witchcraft, Sophokl. Trach. 1001-3.

midnight, time of the Erinyes, Aeschyl. Eum. 109.

Μοῖραι = the Mirae of modern Greece? Eurip. fg. 285 N².

moon, eclipse of, by magic, Sossiphanes, fg. 1 N².

mourning, rites of, Eurip. Alc. 428-9; s. horses; Ion, fg. 54 N²; s. pit, widow.

μύρανα, Aeschyl. Choeph. 991-2; s. ἔχιδνα.

myrtle, chthonic herb, Iophon, fg. 3 N².

on tombs, Eurip. El. 512.

N.

Name, force of, Sophokl. O. C. 129; Eurip. Or. 37-38; Karkinos, fg. 5 N²; s. Erinys, Persephone, soul.

of gods, secret, Eurip. fg. 781 N².

ominous, Sophokl. Ai. 430-3.

necromancy, Aeschyl. Persae, 621 ff.; Ψυχαγωγός, N², p. 87; Sophokl. Polyidos, fg. 366 and 367 N² (doubtful); Eurip. Alc. 1128; fg. 912 N²; Python, fg. 1 N².

necromancy, by charm-song, Sophokl. El. 137-9.

and prayer, Aeschyl. Choeph. 466 ff.; s. p. 6 ff.

nightingale, oracle-bird, Sophokl. El. 148-9.

Nile, water of, preserves from sickness, Aeschyl. Suppl. 543.

nine, in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 483; s. number, three.

nudity, in herb-gathering, Sophokl. fg. 491 N²; s. ῥιζοτόμοι, herb.

number, Aeschyl. Prom. 1014; Sophokl. O. C. 479; 483; Eurip. Hippol. 1213-4; Troad. 82-3; fg. ad. 266 N²; s. nine, three.

O.

Οἰωνιστική, Aeschyl. Prom. 490-4; Sophokl. Antig. 999-1004; 1021; O. C. 97-8; 1313-4; O. T. 52-3; 310; cp. 395-7; 964-6; Eurip. Bacch. 255-7; Herc. fur. 596-7; Hel. 746-7; Hippol. 872-3?; 1055-9; Ion, 179-81; 375-7; Phoen. 766-7; 838-40; Suppl. 213.

οἰωνοθέτης, Sophokl. O. T. 483.

olive-branch in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 484.

omen, Aeschyl. 1623-4; Sophokl. El. 666-8; Eurip. Or. 787-8; Phoen. 858; fg. ad. 466 N².

in a name, Sophokl. Aias 430-3.

in sneezing, Sophokl. fg. 152 N².

in stumbling, Eurip. Heraclid. 730.

omission, Aeschyl. Eum. 272-4; s. purification, silence; Sophokl. O. C. 130-3; cp. 489; O. C. 481; s. wine.

ὄνειρομαντεία, Sophokl. El. 498-500; s. dreams.

ordeal, by fire, Sophokl. Antig. 264 and schol.

by red-hot iron, Sophokl. Antig. 264 and schol.

Orpheus, as wizard, Eurip. Alc. 966-9; Cycl. 646.

P.

Persephone, mistress of spectres, Eurip. Ion, 1048-50; s. *Εἰνοδία*. name of, not to be mentioned, Karkinos, fg. 5 N²; s. name.

φάρμακός = wizard, Sophokl. Trach. 1140.

φάρμακον, fg. ad. 317 N².

philtre, Aeschyl. Agam. 1361-3; Choeph. 1026 (doubtful); Eurip. Androm. 207-8; fg. 103 N²; 323 N² (both figuratively).

Pollux, as St. Elmo's fire, Eurip. Or. 1637.

presentiments, Aeschyl. Agam. 955-6; Eurip. El. 747-9 (doubtful).

Prometheus, inventor of mantic etc. Aeschyl. Prom. 486 ff.

ψυχαγωγός, s. necromancy.

Psylli, fg. ad. 277 N².

purification, Aeschyl. Choeph. 959-62; Eum. 272-4; s. omission, silence; Sophokl. O. T. 99.

rites of, O. C. 466-90; s. earth, face, hands, honey, nine, olive, sunrise, three, wine, wool.

and flowing water, Sophokl. O. T. 1227-8.

as daily practice (exaggerated?) Eurip. fg. 773 N².

after sexual intercourse, Eurip. schol. Hecub. 53.

R.

Rain-charm, schol. Eurip. Phoen. 347.

red, relation to the nether-world, Eurip. Or. 1431-6.

revenants, Sophokl. Philoct. 624-5. and schol.

right side, lucky, Sophokl. Ai. 183-4.

ῥιζοτόμοι, use magical rites, Sophokl. fg. 491 N²; s. herbs.

road to Hades, Eurip. fg. 122 N².

S.

Scents, characterize the appearance of gods, Eurip. Hippol. 1391.

sea, holiness of, Eurip. Hel. 1271.

purifying, Sophokl. Ai. 654-6; Eurip. Iph. Taur. 1039-41; 1139.

evil sprites, and evil in general, thrown into it, Aeschyl. Suppl. 512-3; Sophokl. O. T. 190-7; 1411-12.

sea-water, Aeschyl. Persae, 575; Eurip. Hecub. 609-13; cp. 47; Iph. Taur. 255.

shields, signs of, Aeschyl. Septem. 370-3; 380-2, and schol. 417-7; 449-52; 475-8; 495-504; 522-6; 627-31; fg. 422 N²; Eurip. El. 458-75 (spec. 468-9); Phoen. 1108-36, passim; fg. 530 N².

sickness, as demon, Sophokl. O. T. 27-8.

effected by witchery, Sophokl. Trach. 491-2; Eurip. Hippol. 318; s. *ἐπακτός*, witchcraft.

sent by gods, Eurip. fg. 292 N².

silence, Aeschyl. Eum. 272-4; s. omission, purification.

Siren = Hades-demon? Sophokl. fg. 777 N².

snake, and eye, Aeschyl. Persae, 81-2.

snake, and eagle, Sophokl. Antig.
113-126 and schol; s. eagle,
sympathy.
as amulet, Eurip. Ion, 24-6;
1427-31; s. amulet.
charm against, Eurip. Androm.
269-73 (doubtful).
sneezing, ominous, Sophokl. fg.
152 N²; s. omen, σύμβολοι.
soothsayer, begging, Aeschyl.
Agam. 1149; 1227-8.
souls, as dogs, Eurip. fg. 469 N²
(doubtful).
and Erinyes. Eurip. Or. 37-8; s.
Erinyes; name.
return to the upper world (or
ascend to the ether), Sophokl.
fg. 795 N².
spectres, dead as, Eurip. Alc.
1127; Phoen. 1543-5; fg. ad.
370 N².
sent by Hades, Eurip. Phoen.
810-11.
by Hekate, Eurip. Hel. 569.
are the swarm of Hekate, Eurip.
Hel. 570; fg. ad. 375 N².
ruled by Persephone, Eurip. Ion
1048-50.
unburied men become s., Eurip.
Hecub. 1-54; s. burial.
are harmful, fg. ad. 370 N².
are invisible? Sophokl. Ai. 301-2.
appear at day or night, Eurip.
Ion 1049-50.
salutation of, Eurip. Hel. 569;
Herc. fur. 820-1.
fly through the air, Eurip. Phoen.
1543-5.
and gold, Eurip. Hecub. 110.
spell, Aeschyl. Eum. 81-2 (doubt-
ful); 272-4; s. purification,
Sophokl. O. T. 72.
spitting (ἀποπτύειν), Aeschyl. Agam.
943-4; 1146-7; Eum. 68; 189;
299; Prom. 1068-9; fg. 354 N²;

Sophokl. fg. 617 N²; Eurip.
Hecub. 1275-6; Iph. Aul.
508-10; 873-4; fg. 533 N².
σπλαγχομαντεία, Aeschyl. Prom.
495-500; s. also ἐμπυρομαν-
τεία, haruspication.
σποδομαντεία, Sophokl. O. T. 21.
stars = Herakles and Hebe, Eurip.
Heraclid. 854-7.
sign of apotheosis, Eurip. Hera-
clid. 571-2.
shooting=souls, Eurip. fg. 971 N².
steel-proof, Eurip. Hel. 810.
sterility, cured by charms, Eurip.
Med. 717-8.
στερνόμαντις = ventriloquist. Soph-
okl. fg. 56 N².
stumbling, ominous, Eurip. Hera-
clid. 730; s. omen.
sun, breaks charm, Sophokl. Trach.
606; 685; 695-7 (doubtful).
invoked in charm-song? Sophokl.
fg. 492 N²; (ῥιζοτόμοι).
-rise and purification, Sophokl.
O. C. 477.
as bird, Aeschyl. Suppl. 202-3;
s. p. 18.
σύμβολοι, s. sneezing.
sympathy, Aeschyl. Prom. 493-4.
and antipathy, Sophokl. Antig.
113-126 and schol. (eagle,
snake); fg. ad. 396 N² (ἄγνος
and vine).

T.

Table, holiness of, Aeschyl. Agam.
386-7; 676 ff.; s. hearth.
tears, of gods, Aeschyl. Eum. 773 ff.;
789-91.
τερασκόπος, Aeschyl. Eum. 62;
Sophokl. O. T. 605.
Thessaly, seat of witches and magi-
cians. Eurip. F. T. G.² p.
550-1 (Mos. Chor.); Sosi-
phanes, fg. 1, N².

Thrace, seat of witches, Eurip. Alc. 966-9.

three, Aeschyl. Prom. 1014; Sophokl. O. C. 479; s. purification; O. C. 483; s. nine; Eurip. Hippol. 1213-14; Troad. 82-3; fg. ad. 266 N²; s. number.

trifolium, magical herb, Sophokl. fg. 746 N².

turning round, forbidden in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 490; s. face.

U.

"Unbecried," Aeschyl. Agam. 614-5; 867-8; Septem. 5; 9; Sophokl. Ai. 187; 657-9; Trach. 604-9? fg. 458 N²; (Eurip.) Rhes. 342-5; 467-8; s. Ἄδ-
ράστεια.

V.

Vine, chthonic, Iophon, fg. 3 N².
and ἄγνος, fg. ad. 396 N²; s. sympathy.

W.

Water, flowing, in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 470; 1227-8; Eurip. El. 793-4; Hippol. 648-9; s. purification.

waves, third the highest; s. three.

wax, in magic, Sophokl. fg. 493 N².

whistling, Aeschyl. Prom. 358-9.

widow, burial, traces of, Ion fg. 54 N²; s. mourning rites; s. p. 26.

wine, not used in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 481; s. omission, purification.

witchcraft, accounts for sickness, Sophokl. Trach. 491-2; Eurip. Hippol. 317-8; s. ἐπαικτός, sickness.

and medicine, Sophokl. Trach. 1001-3; s. medicine.

punishable by law, Eurip. Androm. 355-60; s. laws.

witches, Eurip. Alc. 966-9; Androm. 159-60; Sosiphanes, fg. 1 N².

Thessaly their seat, Eurip. F.T.G.², p. 550-1; Sosiphanes, fg. 1 N²; s. Thessaly.

Thrace their seat, Eurip. Alc. 966-9; s. Thrace.

Asia their seat, Eurip. Androm. 159-60; s. Asia.

and moon, Sosiphanes, fg. 1, N.²; s. eclipse, moon.

wizards, Aeschyl. Choeph. 810; Sophokl. Trach. 1140; Eurip. Bacch. 233-4; Hippol. 1038-40. Corinthians, a people of, schol. Eurip. Med. 11; s. Cor.

Orpheus, as w., Eurip. Alc. 966-9; Cycl. 646; s. Orph.

women, s. witches.

wool, bands of, in purification, Sophokl. O. C. 475; s. purification.

word, force of, Eurip. Herc. 1218-9; Or. 75; fg. 427 N².

ominous, Aeschyl. fg. 36 N²; s. spell, charm-song.

II. — *Age at Marriage and at Death in the Roman Empire.*

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I. *Age at Marriage.*

THE general consensus of opinion among scholars in regard to the age of women at marriage in the ancient Roman Empire is that the average age was 14 years. This is the view presented by the last editions of Marquardt's "*Privatleben der Roemer*" (p. 29), Becker's "*Gallus*" (II, 12), Nissen's "*Italische Landeskunde*" (I, 410), and Friedlaender's "*Sittengeschichte*" (I, 565). The principal arguments which have led to this conclusion are as follows:—

- (1) A statement in Epictetus on age at marriage;
- (2) the age of puberty in ancient Rome;
- (3) the legal age at marriage;
- (4) instances of the age at marriage contained in ancient authors;
- (5) the record of the age at marriage in inscriptions.

This last argument seems to be generally regarded as the most important, since Friedlaender collected a large number of inscriptions which record the age of women at marriage; and the conclusion at which he has arrived in a special article devoted to this subject in his "*Sittengeschichte*" (I, 565–574, 6th ed.) seems to be universally accepted without question.

Becker and Friedlaender lay special stress on what they regard as the definite statement of Epictetus on the average age of women at marriage (*Enchiridion*, 40): αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κυραὶ καλοῦνται. τοιγαροῦν, ὁρῶσαι, ὅτι ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν αὐταῖς πρόσεστι, μόνον δὲ συγκοιμῶνται τοῖς ἀνδράσι, ἄρχονται καλλωπίζεσθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάσας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. προσέχειν οὖν ἄξιον, ἵνα αἰσθῶνται, διότι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τιμῶνται, ἢ τῷ κόσμῳ φαίνεσθαι καὶ αἰδήμονες.

When our author says that girls of 14, seeing no other course open to them in life, marry and devote themselves to personal adornment, every one will recognize, I think, that this partakes of the nature of satire or caricature, and that the element of exaggeration applies not merely to the unworthy occupation of women, but also to the early age at which this begins. Epictetus is not here attempting to state accurately an historical fact, but he wishes for rhetorical effect to make the contrast as strong as possible between the low aims held by women and the ideals which they should have before them. The words of the stern Stoic who sets forth so forcibly the wickedness of the world cannot be interpreted in the same spirit as those of the historian. We have learned at length not to treat Aristophanes and Juvenal as historians, and the principle may well be extended to include such statements as the one before us.

Even if we regard this passage as a serious attempt to state facts, it will not bear the interpretation put upon it. A French writer, for example, knowing that marriage of women at 17 years of age was common in his country, but aware also that the average age was 25, might in a similar spirit say that women of 17, finding no honorable vocation open to them, marry and devote themselves to dress. We should not be justified in saying that the author had made an incorrect statement in regard to the average age at marriage, for he does not attempt to state this. He would rather imply, as does Epictetus, that the age mentioned was the period of life when the attention of women was especially directed to marriage and when marriage became common. The year mentioned would be nearer the beginning of the marriageable age than the mean age at marriage.

Even if this statement of Epictetus was intended to give the average age at marriage, still it would not deserve to be accepted without strong corroborative evidence. It would rather illustrate a tendency noticed in all times to exaggerate the youth of women in southern climes at the time of marriage, a tendency which even Friedlaender has not escaped. As late as in the fifth edition of his "*Sittengeschichte*" he

quotes statements to prove that marriage of girls between the ages of 12 and 15 is the rule rather than the exception in some parts of modern Italy. In the sixth or last edition he discards all these statements and allows that the average age at marriage in Italy is as late as 23 years and 10 months. Mulhall places the mean marrying age for women in Italy at 25.4 years. The difference between the mean marrying age in southern and northern countries is not so great as is generally supposed. While as a rule the mean age at marriage is somewhat lower in southern countries, it is not always so. The percentage of those who marry under 20 years of age is for Italy 17.1, for England 14.9, for France 20.4, whereas for Russia it is 57.3.¹

It does not seem to me that the fact that the legal age of marriage in Rome was 12 years and that the age of puberty was placed at the same age should be considered as arguments that the medium marrying age was as early as 14. In England and France the legal age of marriage is 15, and the age of puberty is about the same. The medium marrying age is for England 25.5 and for France 24.9, or a difference of about 10 years between the medium marrying age on the one hand and the legal age of marriage and the age of puberty on the other. There is no reason to suppose that this difference in ancient times was only one-fifth of what it is in modern times.

In this connection we may notice a similar argument used by Friedlaender. C. I. L. X, I, 6328 and VIII, I, 1641 refer to provisions made for the support of girls till the age of 13 and for boys till the age of 15 in the one case and 16 in the other. Hadrian fixed the limit in similar cases for boys at 18 and for girls at 14. Friedlaender assumes the age fixed for girls as that at which they might be expected to marry. If the age here mentioned bears any relation to marriage, it denotes the beginning of the period at which marriage became common rather than the mean age at marriage. It seems, however, more reasonable to explain it in the case

¹ Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," 381.

of the girls as Friedlaender does in the case of the boys, as denoting the age at which they could take care of themselves.

Very little importance is usually attached to the few instances of early marriages mentioned in Roman writers. Only about half a dozen cases are mentioned by ancient authors, and even some of these seem to be referred to simply as noteworthy exceptions. They cannot accordingly furnish an argument of any weight in determining the mean age at marriage.

The most important part of Friedlaender's article relates to the evidence obtained from inscriptions. He presents what purports to be a complete collection of ages at marriage from the C. I. L. and from other sources, as far as these were accessible to him. In this list he includes without question two inscriptions¹ which he quotes as representing girls as married at the age of seven, though he does not include one² which places the age of a girl at the time of marriage at six years. It will appear evident to all, I think, that these three inscriptions belong to the same category as one³ in which the figures represent a boy one year and six days old as married, or another⁴ which records the marriage of a girl of three years of age. In all such inscriptions — and there are a considerable number of them — the figures are manifestly incorrect.

Friedlaender also includes in his collection those inscriptions which refer to women under the age of 18 as already married. This does not contribute towards ascertaining the medium marrying age which he is attempting to find. It

¹ Fried., page 564, quotes Murat. 1368, 9 (C. I. L. VI, 3, 21562), and page 565, IX, 3710.

We should, however, notice that in the case of the second inscription (IX, 3710) the C. I. L., the authority which Friedlaender here quotes, indicates that something is lost at the end of the line between the ANN. and XXXI which begins the next line. X or XX may have stood at the end of the line. It is not uncommon to find the age indicated by the repetition of X, even though the age is forty years or more, and also to find the figures indicating the age divided and given partly in one line and partly in the next.

² C. I. L. XIV, 3718.

³ VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29544.

⁴ IX, 1530

merely shows that early marriages existed, without giving any clue to the percentage.¹

One may take exception, it seems to me, to the method used by Friedlaender in obtaining the age at marriage in the case of those inscriptions which give the length of life merely in years but specify the length of married life more definitely. For example, when a girl is represented as dying at the age of 13 and as married 100 days, he considers her as married between the ages of 12 and 13. It seems to me that it is more accurate to consider her as married at the age of 13, as it is not implied that at the time of her death she was just 13. The fraction of the year is in this case omitted, that which is the most common method of indicating the age at death. It is not probable that in cases in which the age is specified merely in years that the year nearest the birthday was given. A girl would be called 13 until she had completed her thirteenth year. This is illustrated by such inscriptions as

III, 1, 3989.

QVAE VIX ANN XXXVII . . . IN XXX | ET VIII ASCENDENS.

I do not regard this point of great moment, but I think it shows a tendency on the part of the author to make the mean age at marriage appear as low as possible.

As the C. I. L. is so nearly completed and forms the best basis of investigation, I have confined my collection of statistics to this source. I have not included in my list such cases as may be found in other collections of inscriptions. Though my list is far more complete than that of Friedlaender, even in the case of those volumes which are cited by him, I would not claim that no instances have been overlooked by me. There are more omissions and errors in Friedlaender's list than one would expect to find in the

¹ A large number of inscriptions cited by Friedlaender in his list of ages at marriage (pages 566-569) are of this character, and even some which are not so indicated by him, as page 567, C. I. L. III, I, 2997, and page 568, Orelli 4401.

sixth edition of this famous work. There are some seventeen cases omitted from volumes IX and XIV alone. Some inscriptions which he refers to as unpublished may be found in volumes of the C. I. L. which are cited in other parts of his article. On page 566, inscriptions VI, 2, 10867 and VI, 3, 19883 are thus referred to. X, 1, 2311 is given on page 567 and again on page 568. IX, 5748 on page 568 should read 5478. There are several other errors in citations, as on page 566, Henzen 7385, and page 568, Orelli 2693.

To the list of ages of women at marriage I have added a list of ages of men at marriage. This latter subject has received comparatively little attention, but it is often implied that the marriage of men usually took place soon after the assumption of the "toga virilis."

I have not included in my list the following inscriptions, in which the figures are manifestly incorrect :

XIV, 3718, which represents a girl as married at the age of 6.

VI, 3, 21562, which represents a girl as married at the age of 7.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29544, which represents the age of a boy as 1 year and 6 days.

X, 1, 2251, which represents the age of a boy as 11 years 5 months and 23 days.

In cases in which the age at death and the length of married life are specified more definitely than in years I have given the exact age at the time of marriage. In cases in which only one of these is given more definitely than in years, so that the exact age at marriage cannot be obtained, I have given the figures for both as they appear in the inscriptions.

AGE OF WOMEN AT MARRIAGE.

MARRIED AT 10 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 28257, lived 22 y., married 12 y. 30 d.	Rome.
VI, 3, 21273.	"
X, 1, 155, 10 y. 10 m.	Potentia.
XI, 2657, 10 y. 1 m.	Colonia Saturnia.
V, 1, 630, 10 y. 9 m. 4 d.	Tergeste.
III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9002.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 11 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 18412.	Rome.
XIV, 1854, 11 y. 2 m. 5 d.	Ostia.
IX, 3011, lived 28 y. 6 m., married 17 y.	Ortona.
IX, 900.	Luceria.
XI, 1016, 11 y. 5 m.	Canossa.
III, 1, 3572.	Aquincum.

MARRIED AT 12 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 12387.	Rome.
VI, 2, 10867.	"
VI, 3, 19883.	"
VI, 3, 16304.	"
VI, 3, 20370.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29324, 12 y. 30 d.	"
VI, 3, 24072, 12 y. 3 m.	"
VI, 1, 3604, 12 y. 11 m. 14 d.	"
XI, 832, 12 y. 7 m. 27 d.	Mutina.
XI, 1077, 12 y. 6 m. 18 d.	Parma.
XI, 3830, lived 45 y. 5 m. 25 d., married 28 y.	Veii.
V, 1438, lived 30 y. 56 d., married 18 y.	Aquileia.
V, 6217 (Chr.).	Mediolanum.
III, 1, 2382.	Salonae.
III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9178.	"
VIII, Supp. I, 11665, 12 y. 11 m.	Thala.

MARRIED AT 13 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14930, lived 45 y., married 32 y. 3 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 16592, lived 30 y. 2 m., married 17 y.	"
VI, 3, 18703, lived 19 y. 8 m. 13 d., married 6 y.	"
VI, 2, 7384, 13 y. 1 m.	"
VI, 2, 13017.	"
VI, 2, 13300.	"
VI, 3, 20897.	"
IX, 1955, 13 y. 9 m. 27 d.	Beneventum.
IX, 1852.	"
IX, 1521, 13 y. 9 m. 20 d.	Pagus Veianus.
X, 1, 2311.	Putioli.
X, 1, 181, 13 y. 1 m. 25 d.	Potentia.
X, 1, 3768, lived 27 y. 9 m., married 14 y.	Suessula.
XI, 3757, lived 17 y., married 4 y. 10 m. (Chr.).	Lorium.
XI, 691, lived 23 y. 7 m. 15 d., married 10 y.	Claterna.
XI, 2834, 13 y. 11 m. 14 d. (Chr.)	Volsinii.
V, 2, 7539, lived 13 y., married 100 d.	Ad Bormidam et Belbum.
V, 2, 6545, 13 y. 8 m.	Novaria.

MARRIED AT 14 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 17475, lived 30 y., married 16 y. 3 m. 15 d.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27590, lived 19 y. 8 m. 10 d., married 5 y.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26724, lived 36 y. 2 m. 22 d., married 22 y.	"
VI, 2, 14534, 14 y. 29 d.	"
VI, 2, 7581.	"
VI, 3, 15606.	"
VI, 3, 20440.	"
VI, 3, 23044.	"
XIV, 1010, lived 34 y. 5 m. 23 d., married 20 y.	Ostia.
XIV, 963, 14 y. 5 m. 24 d.	"
IX, 2880, lived 15 y., married 1 y. 4 m.	Histonium.
IX, 5877, 14 y. 6 m. 14 d.	Auximum.
IX, 1983, 15 y. lacking one day.	Beneventum.
XII, 2398, lived 34 y. married 20 y. 10 m. 12 d.	Augustum.
XI, 489.	Ariminum.
XI, 3570 (Chr.).	Centum Cellae.
XI, 2536, 14 y. 9 m. 9 d.	Clusium.
V, 2, 7138, lived 16 y., married 2 y. 6 m. (Chr.).	Taurini.
V, 2, 6060, 14 y. 6 m. 14 d.	Mediolanium.
V, 1, 69, 14 y. 11 m. 26 d.	Pola.
III, 1, 2741, lived 23 y., married 9 y. 5 m.	Col. Claudia Aequeum.

MARRIED AT 15 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 15075, lived 40 y., married 25 y. 3 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 17840, 41, lived 37 y. 58 d., married 22 y.	"
VI, 2, 11682.	"
VI, 2, 13128.	"
VI, 2, 13383.	"
VI, 2, 14377.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25361.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26792.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25962, 15 y. 11 m. 23 d.	"
IX, 5419 (Chr.).	Firmum Pisenum.
X, 2, 7971, lived 19 y., married 4 y. 3 m. 19 d. (Chr.).	Turris Libisonis.
X, 1, 4132, lived 21 y. 5 m. 10 d., married 6 y.	Capua.
X, 1, 641.	Salernum.
X, 1, 5897 (Chr.).	Ferentinum.
XI, 81,	Ravenna.
XI, 3299, 15 y. 8 m. 18 d.	Forum Clodi.
V, 1, 4850 (Chr.).	Brixia.
V, 1, 1710 (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 1315, lived 26 y., married 11 y. 10 m.	Ampeum.

MARRIED AT 16 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 18532, lived 24 y. 10 m., married 8 y.	Rome.
VI, 3, 15519, lived 49 y. 6 m. 10 d., married 33 y.	"
VI, 2, 11939, 16 y. 3 m.	"
VI, 2, 13303.	"
IX, 5478.	Falerio.
IX, 4735, 16 y. 23 d.	Reate.
V, 1, 3996, lived 36 y. 8 d., married less than 20 y.	Ripa Lacus Benaci.
III, Supp. II, 9346.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 17 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 12451, lived 17 y., married 4 m. 9 d.	Rome.
VI, 2, 10526, lived 32 y., married 15 y. 5 m.	"
VI, 2, 9072, 17 y., 3 m. 5 d.	"
XIV, 2271.	Ager Albanus.
XIV, 3737, 17 y. 7 m. 25 d.	Tibur.
IX, 5910, lived 47 y., married 30 y. 3 m.	Ancona.
V, 1, 3593.	Verona.
V, 2, 6377, 17 y. 1 m. 17 d.	Laus Pompeia.
V, 1, 1636, 17 y. 4 m. 24 d. (Chr.)	Aquileia.
III, 1, 4314.	Brigetio.
VIII, 1, 3407.	Lambaesis.

MARRIED AT 18 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13853, lived 23 y., married 5 y. 2 m. 21 d.	Rome.
VI, 3, 18378, lived 31 y. 3 m. 20 d., married 13 y.	"
VI, 2, 8740.	"
VI, 3, 22791.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25444, 18 y. 3 d.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24656, 18 y. 6 m. 22 d.	"
IX, 5517 (Chr.)	Falerio.
X, 1, 427.	Volcei.
X, 1, 4388.	Capua.
V, 2, 7763, lived 42 y., married 24 y. 6 m. 11 d.	Genua.
III, 1, 3989, lived 37 y., married 19 y. 9 m.	Siscia.
III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9507.	Salonae.
III, 1, 1992.	"
VIII, 2, 9638.	Oppidum Novum.

MARRIED AT 19 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26642, 19 y. 25 d.	Rome.
VI, 2, 11082, lived 32 y. 6 m. 5 d., married 13 y.	"
VI, 3, 15849, 19 y. 8 m. 12 d.	"
XI, 2872, lived 56 y., married 37 y. 5 m. (Chr.)	Volsinii.
X, 2, 7654, 19 y. 7 m. 5 d.	Carales.

V, 1, 1250, 19 y. 1 m. 15 d.	Aquileia.
V, 1, 1678 (Chr.).	"
V, 2, 6252, 19 y. 10 m. 26 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 20 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 16199, lived 27 y., married 7 y. 9 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 21714, lived 38 y., married 18 y. 1 m. 24 d.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. 25678, lived 29 y. 2 m. 13 d., married 9 y.	"
VI, 2, 14622, lived 33 y. 3 m., married 13 y.	"
VI, 2, 11683.	"
VI, 3, 17203.	"
VI, 3, 21497.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27268.	"
X, 1, 4496 (Chr.).	Capua.
V, 2, 7453 (Second marriage).	Vardagate.
V, 1, 1620, 20 y. 4 m. 1 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.

MARRIED AT 21 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24337.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 28595.	"
VI, 3, 18930, lived 44 y. 9 m. 8 d., married 23 y.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27235, 21 y. 6 m. 10 d.	"
IX, 1524, 21 y. 27 d.	Pagus Veianus.
V, 1, 1647, 21 y. 10 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 2199.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 22 YEARS OF AGE.

XI, 1409, lived 22 y., married 7 m. 24 d. (Chr.).	Luna.
XI, 2451, lived 27 y., married 5 y. 6 m. 4 d. (Chr.).	Clusium.
V, 2, 6301, lived 42 y., married 20 y. 2 m. 28 d.	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 23 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 15615, lived 45 y., married 22 y. 6 m.	Rome.
III, 1, 2267.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 24 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 21314, lived 41 y. 6 m., married 17 y.	Rome.
XIV, 1767, 24 y. 6 m. 27 d.	Ostia.
IX, 1968, 24 y. 10 m. 29 d.	Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 25 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 15106.	Rome.
VI, 2, 13582, lived 35 y. 5 m. 17 d., married 10 y.	"
VI, 3, 15581, 25 y. 2 m. 14 d.	"
IX, 659.	Ausculum.

MARRIED AT 26 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 15598.	Rome.
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MARRIED AT 27 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 1, 3496, lived 46 y., married 19 y. 2 m. 9 d. Verona.

MARRIED AT 28 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 17777. Rome.

MARRIED AT 30 YEARS OF AGE.

III, 1, 2225, lived 35 y., married 5 y. 25 d. Salònae.

MARRIED AT 31 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 23194. Rome.

VI, 3, 23282. "

XIV, 1881. Ostia.

MARRIED AT 32 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13364. Rome.

VIII, Supp. 1, 12951, lived 72 y. 10 m., married 40 y. Carthage.

MARRIED AT 34 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 3548. Rome.

V, 1, 4545. Brixia.

MARRIED AT 36 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 1, 4187, 36 y. 6 m. 14 d. Inter Cremona et Brixia.

MARRIED AT 38 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 2, 6465, lived 63 y. 5 m. 12 d., married 25 y. (Chr.). Ticinum.

MARRIED AT 56 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 23884. Rome.

AGE AT MARRIAGE OF MEN.

MARRIED AT 15 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14442, lived 35 y. 6 m. 24 d., married 20 y. Rome.

V, 2, 5993. Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 17 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 21650. Rome.

VI, 3, 23115. "

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27508. "

VI, 2, 11137, 17 y. 6 m. "

IX, 1894, 17 y. 22 d. Beneventum.

X, 1, 5362, 17 y. 3 m. 10 d. Interamna Lirenas.

III, 1, 2868, 32 y. 3 m., married 15 y. Nedinum.

MARRIED AT 14 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 17475, lived 30 y., married 16 y. 3 m. 15 d.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 27590, lived 19 y. 8 m. 10 d., married 5 y.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26724, lived 36 y. 2 m. 22 d., married 22 y.	"
VI, 2, 14534, 14 y. 29 d.	"
VI, 2, 7581.	"
VI, 3, 15606.	"
VI, 3, 20440.	"
VI, 3, 23044.	"
XIV, 1010, lived 34 y. 5 m. 23 d., married 20 y.	Ostia.
XIV, 963, 14 y. 5 m. 24 d.	"
IX, 2880, lived 15 y., married 1 y. 4 m.	Histonium.
IX, 5877, 14 y. 6 m. 14 d.	Auximum.
IX, 1983, 15 y. lacking one day.	Beneventum.
XII, 2398, lived 34 y. married 20 y. 10 m. 12 d.	Augustum.
XI, 489.	Ariminum.
XI, 3570 (Chr.).	Centum Cellae.
XI, 2536, 14 y. 9 m. 9 d.	Clusium.
V, 2, 7138, lived 16 y., married 2 y. 6 m. (Chr.).	Taurini.
V, 2, 6060, 14 y. 6 m. 14 d.	Mediolanum.
V, 1, 69, 14 y. 11 m. 26 d.	Pola.
III, 1, 2741, lived 23 y., married 9 y. 5 m.	Col. Claudia Aequum.

MARRIED AT 15 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 15075, lived 40 y., married 25 y. 3 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 17840, 41, lived 37 y. 58 d., married 22 y.	"
VI, 2, 11682.	"
VI, 2, 13128.	"
VI, 2, 13383.	"
VI, 2, 14377.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25361.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26792.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25962, 15 y. 11 m. 23 d.	"
IX, 5419 (Chr.).	Firmum Pisenum.
X, 2, 7971, lived 19 y., married 4 y. 3 m. 19 d. (Chr.).	Turris Libisonis.
X, 1, 4132, lived 21 y. 5 m. 10 d., married 6 y.	Capua.
X, 1, 641.	Salernum.
X, 1, 5897 (Chr.).	Ferentinum.
XI, 81,	Ravenna.
XI, 3299, 15 y. 8 m. 18 d.	Forum Clodi.
V, 1, 4850 (Chr.).	Brixia.
V, 1, 1710 (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 1315, lived 26 y., married 11 y. 10 m.	Ampelum.

MARRIED AT 16 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 18532, lived 24 y. 10 m., married 8 y.	Rome.
VI, 3, 15519, lived 49 y. 6 m. 10 d., married 33 y.	"
VI, 2, 11939, 16 y. 3 m.	"
VI, 2, 13303.	"
IX, 5478.	Falerio.
IX, 4735, 16 y. 23 d.	Reate.
V, 1, 3996, lived 36 y. 8 d., married less than 20 y.	Ripa Lacus Benaci.
III, Supp. II, 9346.	Salonae.

MARRIED AT 17 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 12451, lived 17 y., married 4 m. 9 d.	Rome.
VI, 2, 10526, lived 32 y., married 15 y. 5 m.	"
VI, 2, 9072, 17 y., 3 m. 5 d.	"
XIV, 2271.	Ager Albanus.
XIV, 3737, 17 y. 7 m. 25 d.	Tibur.
IX, 5910, lived 47 y., married 30 y. 3 m.	Ancona.
V, 1, 3593.	Verona.
V, 2, 6377, 17 y. 1 m. 17 d.	Laus Pompeia.
V, 1, 1636, 17 y. 4 m. 24 d. (Chr.)	Aquileia.
III, 1, 4314.	Brigetio.
VIII, 1, 3407.	Lambaesis.

MARRIED AT 18 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13853, lived 23 y., married 5 y. 2 m. 21 d.	Rome.
VI, 3, 18378, lived 31 y. 3 m. 20 d., married 13 y.	"
VI, 2, 8740.	"
VI, 3, 22791.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 25444, 18 y. 3 d.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24656, 18 y. 6 m. 22 d.	"
IX, 5517 (Chr.)	Falerio.
X, 1, 427.	Volcei.
X, 1, 4388.	Capua.
V, 2, 7763, lived 42 y., married 24 y. 6 m. 11 d.	Genua.
III, 1, 3989, lived 37 y., married 19 y. 9 m.	Siscia.
III, Supp. Fasc. II, 9507.	Salonae.
III, 1, 1992.	"
VIII, 2, 9638.	Oppidum Novum.

MARRIED AT 19 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26642, 19 y. 25 d.	Rome.
VI, 2, 11082, lived 32 y. 6 m. 5 d., married 13 y.	"
VI, 3, 15849, 19 y. 8 m. 12 d.	"
XI, 2872, lived 56 y., married 37 y. 5 m. (Chr.)	Volsinii.
X, 2, 7654, 19 y. 7 m. 5 d.	Carales.

MARRIED AT 18 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 8984 (Chr.).	Rome.
VI, 3, 22020, 18 y. 2 m. 27 d.	"
VI, 2, 9711, lived 42 y. 3 m. 18 d., married 24 y.	"
X, 1, 3882, lived 38 y. 7 m. 20 d., married 20 y.	Capua.

MARRIED AT 19 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14057, lived 35 y., married 16 y. 7 m.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 26430, 19 y. 9 m.	"
VI, 3, 15488, lived 23 y. with first wife, 44 y. with second, and 86 years of age when the epitaph was inscribed.	Rome.
XIV, 3806, lived 41 y. 10 m. 25 d., married 22 y.	Tibur.
XIV, 3517, 28 y., married 9 y. 7 m. 11 d.	Castelmadama.
XI, 3943.	Capena.
V, 1, 1535.	Aquileia.
V, 2, 7946.	Camelenum.
V, 1, 4506, 19 y. 2 m.	Brixia.

MARRIED AT 20 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 3860.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29116.	"
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29677.	"
VI, 3, 20826, lived 35 y., married 15 y. 6 m.	"
VI, 2, 8737, lived 45 y. 5 m., married 25 y.	"
IX, 1933, lived 40 y. 9 d., married 20 y.	Beneventum.
X, 1, 237, lived 40 y., married 20 y. 4 m.	Grumentum.
X, 1, 4647, lived 31 y. 5 m., married 11 y.	Cales.
V, 1, 1620, 20 y. 4 m. 1 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.
III, 1, 2272.	Salonae.
III, 1, 1834.	Narona.

MARRIED AT 21 YEARS OF AGE.

XI, 3756 (Chr.).	Lorium.
V, 2, 6252, lived 40 y., married 19 y. 3 m. 10 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanum.
V, 1, 1074.	Aquileia.

MARRIED AT 22 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 2160, lived 40 y. 3 m. 29 d., married 18 y.	Rome.
X, 1, 673 (Chr.).	Salernum.
X, 1, 5585, 22 y. 2 m. 28 d.	Fabrateria Nova.
X, 1, 3905, lived 70 y. 7 m. 10 d., married 48 y.*	Capua.
V, 2, 6239, lived 25 y., married 13 y. 8 m. 22 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanum.
V, 2, 7404, lived 45 y. 9 m. 5 d., married 23 y.	Dertona.

MARRIED AT 23 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13056, 23 y. 3 m. 18 d.	Rome.
IX, 2005.	Beneventum.
X, 1, 256.	Grumentum.
X, 1, 4364.	Capua.
V, 2, 6217 (Chr.).	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 24 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 13060, lived 40 y., married 16 y. 2 m.	Rome.
VI, 3, 17656.	"
III, 1, 2123.	Salonae.
III, 2, 6399 (Chr.).	Dalmatia.

MARRIED AT 25 YEARS OF AGE.

X, 1, 5991.	Signia.
X, 1, 6604, 25 y. 11 m. 22 d. (Chr.).	Velletri.

MARRIED AT 26 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 2256.	Rome.
IX, 869.	Luceria.

MARRIED AT 27 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 2482, lived 41 y. 5 m. 28 d., married 14 y.	Rome.
VI, 2, 9555, lived 30 y., married 3 y. 3 m. (Chr.).	"
XIV, 4009, lived 30 y., married 3 y. 5 m. 16 d.	Ficulea.
IX, 1994.	Beneventum.
V, 1, 1880 (Chr.).	Concordia.
V, 2, 6214, 27 y. 10 m. 12 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.
II, 551.	Augusta Emerita

MARRIED AT 28 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 20116, lived 71 y., married to first wife 15 y., to second 18 y.	Rome.
IX, 4742, lived 48 y. 8 m. 7 d., married 20 y.	Reate.
X, 1, 418.	Volcei.
X, 1, 254, 28 y. 1 m.	Grumentum.

MARRIED AT 29 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 8878, 29 y. 11 m. 28 d.	Rome.
X, 1, 3544.	Misenum.
II, 4170, 29 y. 10 m. 8 d.	Terraco.

MARRIED AT 30 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 9226.	Rome.
VI, 3, 20847.	"
XIV, 2555.	Ager Tusculanus.

XI, 198.	Ravenna.
V, 1, 4848 (Chr.).	Brixia.
V, 1, 1628, 30 y. 20 d. (Chr.).	Aquileia.

MARRIED AT 31 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14417, lived 42 y., married 11 y. 4 m.	Rome.
X, 1, 5992, 31 y. 2 m. 5 d.	Signia.
V, 1, 3996, lived 51 y. 3 m. 22 d., married less than 20 y.	Ripa Lacus Benaci.

MARRIED AT 32 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 22657.	Rome.
VI, 4, Fasc. I, 24380, 32 y. 2 m. 2 d.	"
IX, 2147.	S. Agata de' Goti.

MARRIED AT 34 YEARS OF AGE.

X, 1, 4536, 34 y. 20 d.	Capua.
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MARRIED AT 35 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 20241.	Rome.
V, 2, 6261 (Chr.).	Mediolanium.

MARRIED AT 36 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 2, 6215, 36 y. 2 m. 25 d. (Chr.).	Mediolanium.
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MARRIED AT 37 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 14010, lived 70 y. 10 m. 7 d., married 33 y.	Rome.
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MARRIED AT 38 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 2, 8773 (Chr.).	Concordia.
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MARRIED AT 39 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 28128.	Rome.
IX, 1949.	Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 40 YEARS OF AGE.

IX, 5566, 40 y. 5 d. (Chr.).	Tolentinum.
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MARRIED AT 41 YEARS OF AGE.

X, 2, 7167 (Chr.).	Syracusae.
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MARRIED AT 42 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29114, 42 y. 6 m. 10 d.	Rome.
IX, 2249.	Telesia.

MARRIED AT 45 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 2, 9936 (Chr.).	Rome.
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MARRIED AT 47 YEARS OF AGE.

IX, 2008, lived 55 y., married 8 y. 3 m.	Beneventum.
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MARRIED AT 50 YEARS OF AGE.

V, 1, 1796, lived 80 y. 4 m. 8 d., married 30 y.

Ad Tricesimum.

MARRIED AT 51 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 3, 21875, lived 60 y. 3 m. 13 d., married 9 y.

Rome.

MARRIED AT 57 YEARS OF AGE.

IX, 1654.

Beneventum.

MARRIED AT 64 YEARS OF AGE.

VI, 1, 3551.

Rome.

Friedlaender at the end of his collection of inscriptions says (page 569): "Es ist kein Grund anzunehmen, dass eine grosse Vermehrung dieser Sammlung wesentlich andere Altersverhaeltnisse ergeben wuerde." This statement is disproved by the fact that the mean age at marriage derived from the citations of Friedlaender is about 16, or two years less than that obtained from my list of ages at marriage. As his own list shows an average age at marriage considerably above 14, that period which he definitely states to be the average age at marriage (page 565), he attempts to obviate this difficulty by two unwarranted assumptions. He says (page 569): "Von den im Alter von mehr als 18 Jahren verheiratheten Frauen ist ohne Zweifel ein grosser, wenn nicht der groesste Teil schon frueher verheirathet gewesen." There seems to be no evidence to justify this statement; in fact, direct evidence to the contrary may be found in the inscriptions. I have collected 384 inscriptions of the city of Rome which give the length of married life. The average length of married life as obtained from these is about 24 years, nearly the same as the average of modern times. Though there may have been a tendency to record cases of long married life, still the figures incline us to the belief that marriage in Rome, considering the population as a whole and not simply the upper classes, to which the literature of the times almost exclusively relates, was not of that unstable character which the writings of such authors as Juvenal would lead us to assume and which Friedlaender appears to have had before his mind.

Friedlaender's second assumption is as follows (page 569): "Auch ist zu bedenken, dass diese Frauen groessten theils den mittlern und untern Staenden angehoren, in denen Armuth, der Mangel einer Mitgift u. s. w. noch leichter die Verheirathung verzoe gern konnte, als in den hoehern; in diesen wird also um so mehr Verheirathung bald noch vollendetem zwoelfsten Jahr fuer das Gewoehnliche zu halten sein." This is directly opposed to all that modern statistics teach us with regard to the mean marrying age in the different classes of society. (Mayo-Smith, *Statistics and Sociology*, 103 ff.) There is no reason to suppose that the law which prevails in modern society does not hold good for ancient times. As the poor in Rome were largely maintained at the expense of the state, there would be an added cause for the early marriage of the lower classes in the metropolis.

I should not be inclined to place the average age at marriage of women as early as 18 years of age, though this is the average obtained from the list of ages cited above. There is a marked tendency on the part of the Romans in composing epitaphs to record the age at death, the age at marriage, and the length of married life, when these are in some degree exceptional. This fact, which is an important one to bear in mind in drawing inferences from the figures presented by the epitaphs, has apparently always been overlooked. The tables of the ages at death which follow, clearly show that deaths between the ages of 45 and 60, or the period of "senectas," are not recorded in like proportion as those occurring at other periods of life. The same tendency may be noted in the records of the length of married life. The 290 epitaphs of the city of Rome, which merely record the length of married life but do not mention the age at marriage nor the age at death, give as the average length of married life 26 years, whereas the 94 of the city of Rome which give the age of marriage directly, or indirectly by stating the length of married life and the age at death, give an average of only 17 years. It is not probable that this is mere accident, but that when the length of married life alone was given there was a tendency to record cases above the normal length.

A tendency to record early marriages may also be observed. This is especially apparent when the age of the girl at marriage is definitely given, as in VI, 3, 20370, and VI, 2, 10867, and also in cases in which the youth of the girls is emphasized by such expressions as "a prima aetate" (XIV, 963) even in connection with the statement of the age at death and the length of married life, and "ab infantia" (VI, 3, 15488).

My conclusion that the average age of women at marriage is far from being so low as is usually maintained is further strengthened by considering the average age of men at marriage as far as this may be ascertained from the inscriptions. Here I find, instead of an average of 17 years, as is often given, an average of 26. This figure seems to me to represent more nearly the average age of men at marriage in ancient Rome than the average which we obtain for women from the records of the inscriptions, for the reason that there is not the same tendency to record early marriages in the case of men as we noted in the case of women. The absence of this motive to mention the age of men at the time of marriage would account in part for the fact that their age at marriage is not so frequently mentioned as that of women.

II. *Age at Death.*

There seems to be a general impression among students of Roman life that from the records of the inscriptions we may form some idea of the average length of human life in the ancient Roman Empire. Nissen, in his admirable work "*Italische Landeskunde*," says (page 411): "*Die Sammlung der stadtröemischen Inschriften wird einen nüchternen ziffermaessigen Commentar gewahren zu den Schilderungen der socialen Zustaende, die wir in der Litteratur lesen. Die mittlere Lebensdauer erscheint ueberaus kurz, Kindersegen in heutigen Sinne unerhoert.*" Professor Zimmermann, in an article entitled "*Der kulturgeschichtliche Wert der roemischen Inschriften*," has arrived at conclusions directly opposed to those of Nissen in respect to the length of life in ancient times. He has compared the percentage of those who are

...Herrn, der am 1. März 1870 in Posen starb.
Er war ein Mann von hohem Alter und hatte
eine sehr interessante Lebensgeschichte.
Er war ein Mann von hohem Alter und hatte
eine sehr interessante Lebensgeschichte.
Er war ein Mann von hohem Alter und hatte
eine sehr interessante Lebensgeschichte.

no man has tabulated the facts of what has been done by any one else before performing this work. It was almost impossible before the publication of the *Corpus*, for the Latin inscriptions were scattered through a few thousand volumes. The majority of the inscriptions appeared without critical spirit, and a large number of false inscriptions (about one-tenth of the whole number) are mingled with the genuine.

...asked me that a tabulation of these statistics
...and would present the facts clearly to the
...would no longer be left to draw impressions
...which could not be trusted to give
...where so many thousand cases are con-

Table 1 will at least help us to ascertain whether these people are capable of showing what the average length of life was in ancient times, as compared with modern times.

The inscriptions are derived chiefly from the sepulchralia.
 " More than half in number of the inscriptions of
 " More than two thirds of the inscriptions of
 "

I have recorded all the ages contained in the C. I. L. as far as possible. I have included the Christian inscriptions as well as the Pagan, for the reason that it is sometimes important to distinguish them. The Christians were subject

to the same general conditions of life as the Pagans, and if a greater purity of morals tended to lengthen their lives the number of Christian inscriptions included in the corpus is so small that the general results are not materially affected by them.

Very doubtful cases have been omitted; for example, if the inscription contained an X with the part before or after it broken, so that the age might have been anywhere from 9 to 90, it has been omitted from the account; whereas if the inscription showed LX, for example, with a break after it, though the age might have been 90 or upwards, it has been counted as 60; but these cases again are so few that they will not materially affect the results.¹ There are also a very few cases which are evidently mistakes of the stone-cutter. For example, III, 1, 2602 is the epitaph of a father to his son, whose age is represented to be ANNV CLI MESERVM OCTO. Though CLI should perhaps read VII, this and similar cases have been entirely omitted. For Vol. VIII, I have made use of Seidel's² tabulation of ages, correcting these from the supplements to this volume which have appeared since he published his study, and I have added the large number of ages at death contained in these two supplementary volumes.

In tabulating the ages, I have arranged them in three columns. The first of these columns, over which "1" stands in each case, contains the number of those whose age is given even to the hour. The second, numbered "2," contains the number of those whose age is not given so exactly as those in column 1, but more definitely than merely to the year. The third column, numbered "3," contains the number of those whose ages are given merely in years.

In computing averages and percentages I have simply taken into account the years specified, inasmuch as by far the greater majority of cases are only given in years.

The number of persons whose ages at death are given in the C. I. L. amounts in all, according to my tabulation, to

¹ See C. I. L., III, I, 529, and 4189.

² "Ueber roemische Grabinschriften," von Dr. H. Seidel. 1891.

given in C. I. L., II, as dying at the age of 70 or over, with that of those who died in Posen in the year 1884 at a corresponding age. He says (page 20): "Das Ergebniss dieser Vergleichung war, dass der Prozentsatz der siebenzig und mehrere Jahre alt Gewordenen im damaligen Spanien $1\frac{7}{8}$ betrug, waerend der fuer 'Posen' nur $9\frac{1}{2}$ hoch war. Bedenkt man nun noch, um wie viel geringer damals die persoenliche Sicherheit war . . . so wird man daraus doch vielleicht auch den Schluss ziehen koennen, dass die Leute damals im Verhaeltnisse ebenso alt geworden, wie heute." This he uses as the basis of the following important conclusion: "Steht aber Sittlichkeit und langes Leben irgendwie in Wechselwirkung, so konnten auch die Menschen jener Zeit so schlecht nicht gewesen sein."

Neither of these writers has tabulated the facts to which they refer, nor has any one else before performed this work. Indeed, the task was impossible before the publication of the C. I. L. Previously Latin inscriptions were scattered throughout three or four thousand volumes. The majority of the texts were produced without critical spirit, and a large number of false inscriptions (about one-tenth of the whole number) were included with the genuine.

It has seemed to me that a tabulation of these statistics would be useful and would present the facts clearly to the eye, and scholars would no longer be left to draw impressions from a general reading which could not be trusted to give any accurate idea where so many thousand cases are concerned. This will at least help us to ascertain whether these figures are capable of showing what the average length of life was in ancient times as compared with modern times.

These statistics are derived chiefly from the sepulcralia, which form more than half in number of the inscriptions of the C. I. L. and more than two-thirds of the inscriptions of the city of Rome.

I have tabulated all the ages contained in the C. I. L. as far as published. I have included the Christian inscriptions as well as the Pagan, for the reason that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish them. The Christians were subject

to the same general conditions of life as the Pagans, and if a greater purity of morals tended to lengthen their lives the number of Christian inscriptions included in the corpus is so small that the general results are not materially affected by them.

Very doubtful cases have been omitted; for example, if the inscription contained an X with the part before or after it broken, so that the age might have been anywhere from 9 to 90, it has been omitted from the account; whereas if the inscription showed LX, for example, with a break after it, though the age might have been 90 or upwards, it has been counted as 60; but these cases again are so few that they will not materially affect the results.¹ There are also a very few cases which are evidently mistakes of the stone-cutter. For example, III, 1, 2602 is the epitaph of a father to his son, whose age is represented to be ANN V CLI MESERV M OCTO. Though CLI should perhaps read VII, this and similar cases have been entirely omitted. For Vol. VIII, I have made use of Seidel's² tabulation of ages, correcting these from the supplements to this volume which have appeared since he published his study, and I have added the large number of ages at death contained in these two supplementary volumes.

In tabulating the ages, I have arranged them in three columns. The first of these columns, over which "1" stands in each case, contains the number of those whose age is given even to the hour. The second, numbered "2," contains the number of those whose age is not given so exactly as those in column 1, but more definitely than merely to the year. The third column, numbered "3," contains the number of those whose ages are given merely in years.

In computing averages and percentages I have simply taken into account the years specified, inasmuch as by far the greater majority of cases are only given in years.

The number of persons whose ages at death are given in the C. I. L. amounts in all, according to my tabulation, to

¹ See C. I. L., III, I, 529, and 4189.

² "Ueber roemische Grabinschriften," von Dr. H. Seidel. 1891.

28,665. Among this number are included all ages and all classes, and we have almost the complete record of entire burying-grounds. If in ancient times it had been the custom to erect monuments to all who died, and to record the ages in all cases, we could obtain an approximate idea of the relative average age at death in ancient and in modern times. To take Rome as an example, we have reason to believe that nearly all, of all ranks of society, who had lived beyond the age of infancy were honored with a monument, but the ages are not in all cases recorded. On an average only one out of three or four epitaphs records these.

I have made out a table of the percentage of deaths in Rome for the different periods of life. This we may compare with a corresponding table for modern Italy.¹ In place of the .8 per cent which the epitaphs record as dying under one year of age, we will substitute 20 per cent, which we may infer from modern tables would not be far from the truth. The percentage for the different periods of life will then be as follows :

AGE.	ANCIENT ROME.	MODERN ITALY.
Under 1 year	20.	26.4
1 to 5	14.5	21.3
5 to 10	10.1	4.5
10 to 15	6.7	2.1
15 to 20	11.4	2.2
20 to 30	17.7	5.6
30 to 40	9.7	5.2
40 to 50	4.1	5.5
50 to 60	2.3	6.5
60 to 70	1.4	8.8
70 to 80	1.3	8.1
80 to 90 . . . . .	.6	3.4
Over 90 . . . . .	.3	.4

¹ The table for modern Italy is from Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," page 175. On the same page may be found similar tables for several other countries.

Age at Death.	VI.				XIV.				IX.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	4	78	..	82	..	17	..	17	..	6	..	6
1	15	270	21	306	1	33	..	34	..	20	..	20
2	17	248	18	283	1	30	..	31	..	14	4	18
3	12	237	51	300	5	30	1	36	..	10	9	19
4	10	202	63	275	3	25	2	30	..	9	7	16
5	11	192	72	275	..	24	3	27	..	13	8	21
6	16	178	54	248	1	20	4	25	..	17	2	19
7	8	144	63	215	1	17	4	22	..	12	11	23
8	8	135	64	207	1	15	4	20	..	11	4	15
9	8	99	62	169	..	19	3	22	..	7	12	19
10	6	119	44	169	1	12	4	17	..	7	5	12
11	6	77	43	126	..	11	1	12	..	13	3	16
12	9	74	55	138	2	10	3	15	..	6	11	17
13	2	84	43	129	..	12	9	21	..	8	8	16
14	2	62	59	123	1	13	6	20	..	11	13	24
15	6	84	56	146	1	12	5	18	..	13	6	19
16	2	93	76	171	1	8	6	15	..	11	6	17
17	6	98	65	169	..	8	4	12	..	16	14	30
18	4	129	165	298	..	14	3	17	..	12	22	34
19	4	89	91	184	2	16	8	26	..	7	18	25
20	6	69	230	305	1	12	6	19	..	11	24	35
21	..	60	73	133	..	7	8	15	..	6	5	11
22	9	75	126	210	1	10	5	16	..	11	14	25
23	5	66	77	148	..	4	4	8	..	8	14	22
24	2	50	73	125	..	9	7	16	..	7	7	14
25	3	72	215	290	2	9	12	23	..	10	21	31
26	4	34	76	114	2	3	2	7	..	2	7	9
27	5	33	94	132	..	6	7	13	..	7	11	18
28	7	30	106	143	..	5	10	15	..	3	5	8
29	8	30	42	80	..	4	4	8	..	1	1	2
30	3	56	317	376	3	5	13	21	1	6	28	35
31	2	15	23	40	..	5	3	8	..	2	1	3
32	..	30	58	88	..	3	2	5	..	6	6	12
33	2	21	47	70	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	6
34	1	12	28	41	..	3	1	4	..	1	2	3
35	1	41	219	261	..	6	12	18	..	2	29	31
36	1	23	38	62	..	1	3	4	..	1	2	3
37	1	13	48	62	..	1	..	1	..	2	6	8
38	..	17	42	59	..	..	1	1	..	2	3	5
39	2	10	11	23	..	..	1	1	..	1	2	3
40	..	37	212	249	1	6	11	18	..	4	24	28
41	..	7	19	26	..	2	2	4	..	..	3	3
42	1	12	22	35	..	1	..	1	..	..	6	6
43	..	..	14	14	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
44	..	5	15	20	..	1	1	2	..	..	1	1
45	1	14	116	131	..	2	4	6	..	2	12	14
46	..	4	13	17	..	2	..	2	..	1	1	2
47	..	10	10	20	..	2	1	3	..	..	2	2
48	..	8	14	22	..	1	1	2	..	1	..	1

Age at Death.	VI.				XIV.				IX.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
49	2	4	9	15	..	1	1	2	..	1	..	1
50	1	18	85	104	..	6	5	11	..	4	19	23
51	..	5	5	10	..	3	..	3	..	..	1	1
52	..	4	8	12	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	4
53	..	5	2	7	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
54	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
55	..	10	36	46	..	2	1	3	..	1	16	17
56	..	4	5	9	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	2
57	..	2	7	9	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
58	..	3	9	12	..	1	2	3	1	1	..	2
59	..	2	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
60	1	11	79	91	..	..	3	3	1	..	24	25
61	..	1	3	4	..	1	1	2	..	2	4	6
62	1	4	10	15	..	1	..	1	..	1	..	1
63	..	3	5	8	..	..	3	3	..	..	2	2
64	..	1	7	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
65	..	5	27	32	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	7
66	..	2	2	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
67	7	7	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
68	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3
69	1	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
70	1	6	48	55	..	3	2	5	..	5	12	17
71	..	2	4	6	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
72	..	1	6	7	..	1	..	1	..	3	..	3
73	6	6	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	2
74	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
75	..	3	26	29	..	1	3	4	..	..	6	6
76	..	2	4	6	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
77	..	3	5	8	..	1	..	1	..	1	1	2
78	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
79	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
80	1	7	56	64	..	..	5	5	..	..	16	16
81	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
82	4	4	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
83	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	2
84	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	..	1	16	17	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	2
86	..	1	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
87	2	..	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
88	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
89
90	..	3	17	20	..	1	4	5	..	1	2	3
91	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
92	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
93	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
94	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
95	..	2	2	4	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
96	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
97	..	1	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1

Age at Death.	VI.				XIV.				IX.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
98	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
99	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	2
100	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	1	..	1
101
102
103
104
105	..	2	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
106	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
113	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	X.				XI.				XII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	1	9	..	10	..	7	..	7	..	1	..	1
1	..	41	7	48	..	9	..	9	..	2	..	2
2	..	39	6	45	1	10	1	12	..	12	..	12
3	..	38	9	47	..	3	3	6	..	13	1	14
4	..	28	13	41	..	15	4	19	..	11	1	12
5	..	24	8	32	..	..	7	7	..	6	2	8
6	1	20	13	34	..	8	3	11	..	10	2	12
7	..	22	12	34	..	9	4	13	..	7	1	8
8	2	27	8	37	..	8	1	9	1	3	3	7
9	2	20	10	32	..	2	4	6	..	3	2	5
10	1	13	13	27	..	6	3	9	..	2	2	4
11	1	12	9	22	..	3	3	6	..	5	1	6
12	1	10	18	29	..	6	5	11	..	5	7	12
13	..	20	20	40	..	4	4	8	..	4	5	9
14	..	15	8	23	1	3	4	8	..	3	4	7
15	..	21	16	37	..	4	6	10	..	4	4	8
16	..	19	16	35	..	3	4	7	..	4	7	11
17	2	25	23	50	2	7	3	12	1	5	7	13
18	..	25	35	60	..	10	7	17	..	5	6	11
19	..	11	21	33	..	4	4	8	..	1	7	8
20	..	22	39	61	1	2	14	17	..	5	15	20
21	1	15	16	32	1	6	14	21	..	6	4	10
22	..	20	20	40	1	6	6	13	..	9	13	22
23	..	14	23	37	1	6	11	18	..	2	4	6
24	1	16	18	35	..	5	6	11	..	2	3	5
25	..	22	48	70	1	3	13	17	..	6	11	17

Age at Death.	X.				Total Number of Deaths.	XI.				Total Number of Deaths.	XII.				Total Number of Deaths.
	1.	2.	3.	4.		1.	2.	3.	4.		1.	2.	3.	4.	
26	..	15	19	34	..	3	8	11	..	..	4	4	..
27	..	11	19	30	..	6	7	13	..	2	5	7	..		
28	1	12	26	39	..	3	6	9	..	2	3	5	..		
29	..	11	6	17	..	3	2	5	..	5	2	7	..		
30	..	19	57	76	..	4	20	24	..	4	11	15	..		
31	..	11	8	19	..	2	7	9	..	1	2	3	..		
32	..	5	16	21	..	2	6	8	..	4	3	7	..		
33	..	5	12	17	..	..	6	6	..	1	5	6	..
34	..	3	3	6	..	1	4	5	..	1	1	2	..		
35	1	12	51	64	1	1	15	17	..	1	8	9	..		
36	..	5	18	23	..	..	5	5	..	..	2	2	..
37	..	5	8	13	..	2	9	11	..	2	3	5	..		
38	..	10	10	20	..	2	3	5	..	2	3	5	..		
39	..	2	3	5	..	2	..	2	..	2	..	2	..		
40	..	26	75	101	..	5	23	28	..	5	6	11	..		
41	..	5	5	10	..	2	6	8	..	2	..	2	..		
42	..	1	4	5	..	1	2	3	..	..	..	..	..
43	..	1	12	13	..	..	2	2	..	..	2	2	..
44	..	3	2	5	..	..	5	5	..	..	2	2	..
45	..	5	37	42	..	2	17	19	..	2	7	9	..		
46	..	2	5	7	..	2	4	6	..	1	2	3	..		
47	..	2	6	8	..	..	1	1	..	1	1	2	..
48	..	3	7	10	..	..	3	3	..	..	2	2	..
49	..	1	4	5	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1	..
50	2	11	48	61	..	1	17	18	..	1	8	9	..		
51	..	1	3	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
52	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53	..	2	5	7	..	..	4	4	..	..	..	..	..
54	..	3	9	12	..	1	3	4	..	1	..	1	..		
55	..	1	23	24	..	1	9	10	..	..	3	3	..
56	..	3	3	6	..	..	7	7	..	..	..	..	..
57	..	1	3	4	..	2	1	3	..	..	3	3	..
58	..	3	4	7	..	1	2	3	..	..	1	1	..
59	..	2	2	4	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1	..
60	1	9	44	54	..	..	14	14	..	..	10	10	..
61	..	1	5	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
62	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
63	..	1	5	6	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
64	2	2	..	1	3	4	..	..	1	1	..		
65	..	3	14	17	..	..	10	10	..	1	3	4	..
66	2	2	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
67	..	1	..	1	..	1	2	3	..	1	..	1	..		
68	1	1	3	5	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..
69	1	1	..		
70	..	8	24	32	..	1	12	13	..	1	6	7	..		
71	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
72	4	4	..	1	5	6	..	..	..	..	..
73	..	1	1	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..
74	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	X.				XI.				XII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
75	..	I	14	15	..	..	7	7	..	..	2	2
76	..	I	2	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	I	I
77
78	2	2	..	I	I	2	..	..	..	..
79	..	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
80	22	22	..	3	2	5	..	..	5	5
81
82	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
83	I	I	..	..	..	..
84	..	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	5	5	..	..	2	2	..	..	4	4
86
87
88
89
90	3	3	..	..	4	4	..	I	I	2
91
92	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
93	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
94	I	I	..	..	..	..
95	I	I
96	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
97
98
99
100	I	I	..	I	..	I	..	..	I	I
102	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
106	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
110	I	I
114	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	V.				II.				III.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	..	2	..	2	I	5	..	6	..	12	..	12
1	..	20	..	20	..	15	I	16	..	21	7	28
2	..	17	3	20	..	5	6	11	I	22	19	42
3	I	23	12	36	I	2	11	14	..	26	28	54
4	I	19	13	33	..	..	7	7	..	16	29	45
5	..	12	8	20	..	2	10	12	..	9	29	38

Age at Death.	V.				II.				III.			
	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
6	..	13	8	21	..	3	5	8	..	8	20	28
7	..	8	13	21	..	2	5	7	..	8	38	46
8	..	8	6	14	..	3	5	8	..	7	27	34
9	..	6	6	12	..	3	14	17	..	7	20	27
10	..	6	7	13	..	5	10	15	..	9	28	37
11	..	6	5	11	..	..	8	8	..	2	11	13
12	..	6	9	15	..	..	23	23	..	4	25	29
13	..	6	9	15	..	..	10	10	..	3	16	19
14	..	7	6	13	..	2	15	17	..	2	20	22
15	..	6	13	19	..	..	21	21	..	7	25	32
16	..	7	13	20	..	..	28	28	..	6	29	35
17	..	10	13	23	..	1	25	26	..	4	18	22
18	..	12	18	30	..	4	44	48	..	4	54	58
19	..	9	6	15	..	4	19	23	..	4	25	29
20	..	11	24	35	..	2	88	90	..	8	125	133
21	..	7	19	26	..	1	18	19	..	5	18	23
22	..	12	15	27	..	2	39	41	..	4	33	37
23	..	18	18	36	..	..	30	30	..	5	23	28
24	..	11	9	20	..	4	16	20	..	2	19	21
25	..	5	19	24	..	5	94	99	..	9	115	124
26	..	8	14	22	..	1	26	27	..	7	28	35
27	..	8	16	24	..	1	25	26	..	3	25	28
28	..	6	9	15	..	2	22	24	..	5	29	34
29	I	5	3	9	..	3	9	12	..	1	9	10
30	I	9	32	42	..	1	84	85	..	6	215	221
31	..	1	2	3	..	..	12	12	..	2	14	16
32	..	7	4	11	..	1	16	17	..	1	28	29
33	..	2	2	4	..	..	12	12	..	1	18	19
34	..	5	4	9	..	2	7	9	..	1	11	12
35	..	5	21	26	..	..	55	55	..	5	95	100
36	..	2	4	6	..	..	8	8	..	..	15	15
37	..	1	3	4	..	2	13	15	..	2	13	15
38	..	1	5	6	..	2	6	8	..	1	28	29
39	..	1	2	3	..	..	1	1	..	..	4	4
40	..	4	25	29	..	1	82	83	..	4	140	144
41	I	..	1	2	..	..	11	11	..	1	..	1
42	3	3	..	2	3	5	..	..	13	13
43	..	1	..	1	..	..	7	7	..	..	8	8
44	..	2	1	3	..	..	5	5	..	..	7	7
45	..	1	12	13	..	1	47	48	..	4	54	58
46	..	2	3	5	..	..	4	4	..	..	11	11
47	..	1	..	1	..	..	6	6	..	..	9	9
48	..	2	1	3	..	..	8	8	..	..	7	7
49	..	1	1	2	..	..	2	2	..	..	4	4
50	..	5	11	16	..	1	53	54	..	4	89	93
51	..	4	..	4	..	..	1	1	..	1	6	7
52	1	1	..	1	3	4	..	..	5	5
53	9	9	..	..	6	6
54	1	1	..	..	4	4	..	..	4	4

Age at Death.	V.				II.				III.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
55	10	10	..	..	27	27	..	..	21	21
56	4	4	..	..	3	3
57	3	3	..	..	8	8	..	..	1	1
58	6	6	..	..	4	4
59	1	1	..	..	3	3
60	..	1	18	19	..	..	65	65	..	4	107	111
61	13	13	..	..	6	6
62	2	2	..	..	6	6	..	..	6	6
63	5	5	..	..	6	6
64	1	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	..	..
65	..	1	6	7	..	..	28	28	..	..	27	27
66	1	1	..	..	4	4	..	..	4	4
67	2	2	..	..	1	1
68	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	1
69	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
70	..	4	8	12	..	..	50	50	..	..	71	71
71	..	1	..	1	..	1	6	7	..	..	4	4
72	2	2	..	..	5	5	..	..	3	3
73	1	1	..	..	5	5	..	..	3	3
74	2	2	..	..	..	..
75	..	1	5	6	..	..	30	30	..	..	21	21
76	1	1	..	..	4	4
77	..	1	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
78	1	1	..	..	2	2	..	..	1	1
79
80	..	2	10	12	..	..	22	22	..	..	53	53
81	1	1	..	..	6	6	..	..	1	1
82	1	1	..	..	..	..
83	2	2	..	..	..	..
84	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	..	1	4	5	..	..	10	10	..	..	8	8
86	2	2	..	..	..	..
87	1	1	..	..	1	1
88
89	1	1
90	..	1	5	6	..	1	3	4	..	..	9	9
91	1	1	..	..	..	..
92
93	1	1	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..
94	1	1	..	..	..	..
95	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	2	2
96
97	3	3	..	..	..	..
98	1	1
99	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
100	1	1	..	..	1	1	..	..	7	7
101	1	1	..	..	..	..
103	1	1	..	..	..	..
104	1	1

Age at Death.	V.					II.					III.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.		1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.		1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
105	I	I		..	..	..	..		..	..	..	..
108	I	I
110	I	I		..	..	I	I
113	I	I		..	..	..	..
115	2	2		..	..	..	..
120	I	I		..	..	I	I
125	I	I
135	I	I		..	..	..	..		..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	VIII.					VII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.		1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
0	..	48	..	48		..	I	..	I
1	2	75	20	97		..	6	..	6
2	I	40	41	88		..	..	I	I
3	..	39	72	111		..	I	..	I
4	2	18	57	77		..	..	I	I
5	..	27	94	121		..	I	..	I
6	I	20	40	61		..	I	I	2
7	..	14	71	85		..	..	..	..
8	..	17	52	69		..	I	..	I
9	..	13	58	71		..	..	..	..
10	I	7	69	77		..	I	3	4
11	..	11	62	73		..	..	I	I
12	..	7	76	83		..	..	I	I
13	..	24	83	107		..	2	4	6
14	..	17	65	82		..	I	..	I
15	I	18	143	162		..	..	3	3
16	..	19	66	85		..	2	I	3
17	..	19	93	112		..	..	I	I
18	4	20	105	129		..	..	I	I
19	..	10	84	94		..	..	I	I
20	I	27	252	280		..	I	3	4
21	I	16	167	184		..	..	..	..
22	I	26	119	146		..	..	I	I
23	I	15	109	125		..	..	I	I
24	I	10	40	51		..	..	..	..
25	I	29	385	415		..	..	4	4
26	..	13	72	85		..	I	I	2
27	I	17	106	124		..	I	..	I

Age at Death.	VIII.				VII.			
	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	I.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
28	..	15	67	82	..	..	2	2
29	..	13	27	40	..	..	1	1
30	..	23	402	425	..	..	8	8
31	..	8	120	128	..	..	..	..
32	..	15	85	100	..	..	1	1
33	..	12	85	97	..	..	3	3
34	..	9	20	29	..	..	..	..
35	..	23	415	438	..	1	3	4
36	..	9	55	64	..	..	1	1
37	..	10	73	83	..	..	2	2
38	..	7	42	49	..	1	3	4
39	39	39	..	..	1	1
40	..	24	422	446	..	..	9	9
41	..	5	88	93	..	1	1	2
42	..	8	47	55	..	1	..	1
43	1	11	46	58	..	..	..	..
44	..	5	20	25	..	..	1	1
45	..	12	289	401	..	..	6	6
46	..	5	45	50	..	..	1	1
47	..	4	48	52	..	..	..	..
48	..	6	25	31	..	1	2	3
49	..	4	22	26	..	..	..	..
50	..	18	320	338	..	..	2	2
51	..	3	100	103	..	..	..	..
52	..	3	54	57	..	..	1	1
53	..	4	70	74	..	..	..	..
54	..	6	22	28	..	..	..	..
55	..	15	250	265	..	1	3	4
56	..	3	37	40	..	..	1	1
57	..	1	47	48	..	..	..	..
58	..	6	32	38	..	..	1	1
59	..	3	9	12	..	..	..	..
60	2	10	421	443	..	..	4	4
61	1	7	99	107	..	..	..	..
62	..	5	41	46	..	..	..	..
63	..	1	54	55	..	..	..	..
64	..	2	8	10	..	..	..	..
65	..	8	324	332	..	..	1	1
66	..	1	42	43	..	..	..	..
67	..	4	36	40	..	..	..	..
68	..	1	27	28	..	..	..	..
69	..	1	14	15	..	..	..	..
70	..	18	411	429	..	..	2	2
71	..	2	109	111	..	..	..	..
72	..	6	40	46	..	..	..	..
73	1	8	51	60	..	..	..	..
74	..	2	14	16	..	..	..	..
75	1	11	422	434	..	..	2	2
76	1	6	24	31	..	..	..	..

Age at Death.	VIII.				VII.			
	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.	1.	2.	3.	Total Number of Deaths.
77	..	4	22	26	..	..	..	..
78	..	2	17	19	..	..	..	..
79	9	9	..	..	..	..
80	..	11	421	432	..	..	I	I
81	..	5	87	92	..	..	..	..
82	..	5	27	32	..	..	..	..
83	..	1	25	26	..	..	..	..
84	7	7	..	..	..	..
85	..	4	273	277	..	..	I	I
86	..	1	21	22	..	..	..	..
87	..	1	26	27	..	..	..	..
88	17	17	..	..	..	..
89	..	1	8	9	..	..	..	..
90	..	3	157	160	..	..	I	I
91	51	51	..	..	..	..
92	16	16	..	..	..	..
93	..	1	22	23	..	..	..	..
94	5	5	..	..	..	..
95	..	2	111	113	..	..	..	..
96	13	13	..	..	..	..
97	23	23	..	..	..	..
98	6	6	..	..	..	..
99	7	7	..	..	..	..
100	92	92	..	..	..	..
101	..	1	55	56	..	..	..	..
102	12	12	..	..	..	..
103	16	16	..	..	..	..
104	3	3	..	..	..	..
105	60	60	..	..	..	..
106	3	3	..	..	..	..
107	6	6	..	..	..	..
108	1	1	..	..	..	..
109	..	1	1	2	..	..	..	..
110	..	1	31	32	..	..	..	..
111	8	8	..	..	..	..
112	2	2	..	..	..	..
114	2	2	..	..	..	..
115	13	13	..	..	..	..
119	1	1	..	..	..	..
120	..	2	12	14	..	..	..	..
121	3	3	..	..	..	..
123	1	1	..	..	..	..
125	7	7	..	..	..	..
127	1	1	..	..	..	..
130	1	1	..	..	..	..
131	2	2	..	..	..	..
132	1	1	..	..	..	..
155	1	1	..	..	..	..
160	1	1	..	..	..	..
170	1	1	..	..	..	..

Examining the figures, we find a very large proportion dying in Rome between the ages of 5 and 40 as compared with modern Italy, and a very small percentage after this period. The difference here indicated can hardly represent a real difference between the conditions of ancient and modern times. If we were to trust the figures, we should be compelled to believe that as large a percentage died in ancient Rome before the age of 45 as in modern Italy before the age of 75. We cannot suppose that there was anything like the difference here indicated between the average length of life in ancient and modern Italy. While Pliny the Younger speaks of 67 as an age which even the strongest seldom exceed (I, 12, 11), Pliny the Elder (*N. H.* 7, 50) mentions that in the year of our Lord 76 there were living in that part of Italy situated between the Apennines and the Po upwards of 100 persons between the ages of 100 and 150.

The most important statement which we have in ancient literature relating to length of life in the Roman Empire is the calculation of Ulpianus (Dig. 35. 2. 68) with regard to the expectation of life at different periods of life. His conclusions were adopted in the Digest to determine the worth of life-rights. These calculations were doubtless made with reference to the upper classes, among whom length of life would be considerably greater than among the lower classes. According to Ulpianus' statement, the expectation of life for those below 20 years of age was 30 years; for those between 20 and 25 was 28 years. These calculations of the Roman jurist are about 12 years less than the expectation of life as given in tables for modern England,¹ and about 12 years more than our tables for Rome present for the same periods of life. Taking the period of 55 to 60 years of age, Ulpianus gives the expectation of life as 7 years; for all over this age as 5 years. The table for Rome shows about 15 years as the expectation of life for those over 60 years of age, or a longer period than we find in modern tables.¹ This suggests that the ages of those who, according to their contemporaries,

¹ Mulhall's "Dictionary of Statistics," 355.

seem to have died before the natural time of death or to have lived to an unusual age were recorded in larger proportion than those who died between the ages of 45 and 60, and if we may judge by the number presented by the epitaphs, those who lived to a very advanced age in ancient times were very few as compared with modern times.

The average age at death of the 7994 cases recorded in Rome is 22.3 years. As we have already noticed, the children who died under one year of age are not recorded, and these, judging by modern statistics, must have amounted to at least 20 per cent of the whole number. If we take this into account, the average age at death would be only 18 years. If the population of Rome were constant in numbers, and that of France is nearly so, the mean age at death would be the same as the mean duration of life. The relation of these is chiefly affected by the relation of births to deaths. We have, however, reason to suppose that the births in Rome were not largely in excess of deaths; that in this respect ancient Rome resembled Paris rather than London. This is suggested, for example, by the various devices resorted to for the purpose of encouraging marriage, as the "*ius trium liberorum*." The average age at death, whether we make allowance for the omission of the records of those who died under the age of one, or whether we take the figures as they appear in the tables for Rome, is so low that our previous conclusions with regard to the omission of the age in the case of those who died between the ages of 45 and 60, is confirmed. As the method of recording ages was apparently the same among the different classes in Rome and throughout the empire, with the single exception of Africa, a comparison of the average age at death of different classes in Rome or of different parts of the empire will present facts of some interest.

If we compare the mean age at death of those mentioned in the alphabetical list of epitaphs of Rome (VI, 10424-29680) with the 1225 who are mentioned outside of this list and who belonged, as a rule, to the upper classes, we find the mean age at death of these to be a little more than four years

greater. We cannot arrive at accurate results with regard to the mean age at death of the upper classes as compared with the lower classes in Rome, but we should expect to find a greater difference than that here indicated. The difference between the mean length of life of the rich and poor in our modern cities has been given at 15 years and upward. That the difference in Rome was probably much less may suggest that the immorality and excesses of the wealthy shortened the average length of life of these as compared with the poor. We will give for the different volumes of the C. I. L. the mean age at death for all those over 10 years of age, although the averages are relatively nearly the same when all the recorded ages are included. Giving these in the order of percentage, beginning with the lowest, we have the following :—

- (1) VI, Rome, 29.3.
- (2) XIV, Latium, 29.6.
- (3) V, Cisalpine Gaul, 32.1.
- (4) X, Brutii, Lucania, Campania, Sicily, and Sardinia, 33.7.
- (5) IX, Calabria, Apulia, Samnium, Sabini, and Picenum, 34.8.
- (6) VII, England, 36.5.
- (7) III, Asia, Greece, and Illyricum, 36.8.
- (8) XI, Aemelia, Umbria, and Etruria, 37.1.
- (9) II, Spain, 37.8.
- (10) VIII, Africa, 53.3.

We thus see that the crowded city of Rome presents the lowest average. This is followed by Latium, which, in spite of the elaborate and extensive system of drainage revealed by recent investigations, must have been unhealthful in ancient times, though not uninhabitable, as a large extent of this territory is in our day. The remoter provinces as a rule furnish the highest averages. The average for Africa, when compared with the averages for the other parts of the Roman Empire, occasions surprise. Seidel, who, as I have mentioned, tabulated the ages of the first two parts of Vol. VIII, does not doubt the accuracy of the figures contained in this volume, though he finds 3.13 per cent living, over 100 years of age, with a maximum age of 155. The two supplementary volumes reduce this percentage slightly, but include the

epitaph of one who is represented as dying at the age of 160, and of another at the age of 170. As a rule, the epitaphs containing such records seem to belong to the ignorant and lower classes, and, among these, there has been noticed in all periods a tendency to exaggerate old age. It may well be true that the average length of life was greater in Africa, and especially in Numidia, in which a large part of these fabulous ages occur, than in other parts of the empire, as this province was healthful, and its inhabitants were chiefly engaged in agriculture. This view is strengthened by the figures before us, though we acknowledge that they show great exaggeration. When Cicero, in his *De Senectute*, seeks an illustration of great physical strength combined with great age, he mentions Masinissa, king of Numidia.

The marked difference between the usage of Africa and of the rest of the empire in recording ages, illustrates the fact that the civilization of Africa was more independent of the influence of Rome than any other part of the empire. It strengthens the view which we obtain also from other sources, that Carthage, a city second only to Rome in the Latin part of the empire, was the centre of culture for Africa and made this province somewhat independent of the influence of the metropolis. Here an ambition at least to appear cultured pervaded even the middle classes, and gives to the inscriptions of Africa a variety and interest surpassed only by those of the city of Rome.

My tabulation of the ages at death, as presented in the C. I. L., while not yielding the definite results which might have been hoped for, shows that the inferences drawn by such scholars as Nissen and Zimmermann, are not justified by a careful study of all the facts in the case. These figures, with their preponderance of records of early deaths, are not without bearing on the views of life and death entertained by the ancients. They suggest, as they record the length of life of children even to the hour, that the Romans did not regard their children as a burden rather than as a blessing, as has been so often maintained. They suggest, too, that while the death of the young was so full of sadness to the Romans,

calling forth some of the most pathetic and touching epitaphs which can be found anywhere, that the death of those who had reached old age was regarded, not as caused by the cruelty of fate, but as brought about by natural law, or by the kind hand of Providence.

In C. I. L. VI, 4, Fasc. I, we meet with the following oft-quoted epitaph : —

D · M | M · VLPIVS CERDO | TITVLVM · POSVIT | CLAVDIAE ·
TYCHENI | CONIVGI · KARISSIM | CVM QVA · VIX · ANNIS |
. . . II · MENS VI · DIEB · | III · HOR · X · IN DIE | MORTIS ·
GRATIAS | MAXIMAS · EGI | APVT · DEOS · ET | APVT ·
HOMINES

Orelli includes this in his collection of Latin inscriptions (II, 4636). His only comment on it is the exclamation "mirum dicterium," but this clearly shows the meaning which he attaches to the words. Prof. A. Zimmermann, in an article entitled "Der kulturgeschichtliche Werth der roemischen Inschriften," after speaking of the genuine grief which monuments raised to husbands and wives so generally display, adds (page 9) : "Nur eine Inschrift unter so vielen ist in einem unpassenden Tone abgefasst, es ist eine der Stadt Rom. Hier sagt der ueberlebende Mann : 'Am Tage ihres Todes habe ich meinen tiefsten Dank ausgesprochen vor den Goettern und den Menschen,' nachdem er sie kurz vorher seine theuerste Gattin genannt."

Friedlaender, who has devoted more attention to inscriptions than has any other writer on Roman life, in referring to women of the lower classes in Rome says ("Sittengeschichte," I, 516, ed. 6) : "Nur Grabsteine von Frauen dieser Staende sind erhalten, auf denen ihre hinterbliebenen Gatten ihre Tugenden ruehmen; einmal freilich gesteht auch ein Witwer mit naiver Aufrichtigkeit in der Grabschrift seiner Frau : 'An dem Tage ihres Todes habe ich bei den Goettern und den Menschen meinen Dank bezeugt.'"

This epitaph, though regarded as an unparalleled exception, may be compared with V, 1, 3122, which might as readily suggest a tone unfriendly to the dead. This monument bears the names of two wives. To the first the husband applies the expression "*uxori sanctissimae post obitum*" in contrast to the second, who is addressed as "*coniugi carissimae*." A similar interpretation applies to both epitaphs, and though they are somewhat awkwardly worded by those who raised these humble monuments, still they contain no element of satire. In fact, though the Roman thought the tomb not an improper place to record plain truths about the dead, even though these truths were not always complimentary, and even to indulge in puns and jest, still he never displays the spirit of satire or ridicule. There may be words of indignation¹ occasioned by the ingratitude of the one to whom the monument was raised, or pity² for the weaknesses of the departed, but epitaphs, unlike all other departments of Roman literature, bear no trace, it seems to me, of the element of satire.

In the case of the epitaph under consideration it would indeed be strange, and with Orelli we should exclaim, "*mirum dicterium*," if the husband, after inscribing the epitaph to his "*coniugi carissimae*," and after mentioning the length of their married life even to the hour, — that which is extremely rare and which almost in itself implies that every hour of their married life had been dear to him, — had in the next sentence thanked heaven that she was dead. Of course no one would deny that we must interpret the language of inscriptions by the usage of inscriptions, that we cannot expect in these epitaphs composed by the illiterate the logical clearness which characterizes Roman literature as a whole. We here meet with a boldness and license and a lack of propriety in the use of language which we do not elsewhere find. Expressions which, judging from the form, would seem directly opposed in thought are used to convey a similar meaning. For example, in VI, 2, 10703, we meet with the

¹ C. I. L. VI, 3, 20905.

² C. I. L. XIV, 636.

words "*filiae pater non merenti feci*"; though the literal meaning of these words is the opposite of 10696 of the same volume, "*coniugi bene merenti fecit*," it is intended to convey a similar idea. Again, in VI, 2, 6686, we find "*fecit libes animo*," and in VI, 4, Fasc. I, "*titulum tibi feci libenter*," but the meaning is not the opposite of the "*dolens posuit*" of XI, 557.

Though the writer of the epitaph under consideration has perhaps expressed himself awkwardly and with too great brevity, yet he used language whose meaning could hardly be misunderstood by his fellow-countrymen who were familiar with the usual brevity employed in epitaphs. The meaning appears perfectly clear to us when we compare the language here used with similar expressions which set forth the same thought more fully. C. I. L. VIII, Supp. I, 13134, is an epitaph inscribed by the wife in honor of her husband. The last sentence is as follows: "*Sed ago superis gratias, quod, dum e[g]o viver[em], nil voluptatibus meis negavit, quia et ipsa meruera(m).*" In C. I. L. VI, 4, Fasc. I, 29186, the husband returns thanks to his wife, "*cui semper gratias*." Here the verb is omitted. In VI, 2, 14537, the form of expression used is, "*ago memoriae vestrae gratias*." X, 1, 3162, is a fragmentary inscription which according to the restoration of Mommsen, and there can be little doubt with regard to the general correctness of his interpretation, reads as follows: "*cui ma[ritus] in die [funeris pia men]te grat[ias di]cit*."

The epitaph we are considering differs from these last quoted simply in omitting some such expression as "*memoriae tuae*" or "*pia menta*," or some clause stating the reason for rendering thanks which would remove all obscurity even in the outward form. Other epitaphs of similar import might be added, but those already quoted are doubtless sufficient in number to remove any doubt with regard to the meaning which the writer intended to convey. We must accordingly acknowledge that this epitaph was intended as a genuine tribute of love and that its tone is far more pleasing than that of IX, 5813, "*quod fas non fuit monimentum feci: quod inprecabo (or increpabo) superos et iferos*." These two

epitaphs illustrate the two views presented by Seneca (*Ad Marciam de Consolatione* XII, 1), and the one under discussion displays that attitude for which he expresses his preference: "Si confessa fueris percepisse magnas voluptates, oportet te non de eo quod detractum est queri, sed de eo gratias agere quod contigit."

III. — *On the Accent of Certain Enclitic Combinations in Greek.*

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JACOB WACKERNAGEL, who has done so much for our knowledge of Greek accent, contributed in a *Baseler Programm* for 1893 certain "Beiträge zur Lehre vom Griechischen Akzent." While Hirt in his recent (1895) *Handbuch des Indogermanischen Akzents* accepts some of Wackernagel's contentions, he rejects his ingenious explanation of the retraction of the accent in ἔγωγε, etc., and attempts to include this also under a new and, as it will perhaps seem to many, artificial formula which he uses to explain the shift of accent like that in μήτηρ and μητρός. Hirt's formula (p. 32) is: "Ruht der Ton auf einer langen Ultima, so wird der Akzent zurückgezogen," e.g. ὄνος as against Skr. vasnás. He therefore assumes that an original *ἔγω and *ἔμοι were thus preserved in the case of the nom. and dat. of ἔγωγε. Wackernagel's contention (Beitr. p. 20) was that the retracted accent of the stem ἔμο- is older than the oxytone ἐμός; that therefore ἔμοιγε is older than ἐμοί; that ἔγωγε (although ἐγώ corresponded to Skr. ahám, accent and all), developing on a combination later than ἔμοιγε, adapted its accent to the latter, while ἐμέγε is explained away by assuming its development from *μέγε and a prothetic ε. As Hirt (p. 33) remarks, this is 'schön ausgedacht,' but is not convincing. But neither do I feel convinced of the value of Hirt's general formula, and consequently do not accept his incidental settlement of this point. The explanation previously (1891) suggested by me in a foot-note to p. 50, A. J. P. Vol. XII., is, I still think, as plausible as any. In arguing there against Professor B. I. Wheeler's brilliant

theory¹ of a 'Dactylic paroxytone law' there is pointed out the behavior of the accent in active oxytone compounds with trochaic endings like *κυνηγός*, *μελοποιός*, etc., and recessive compounds like *ἀντίφωνος*, etc. Here we find that the alternative is strict, either oxytone or proparoxytone — not even properispomenon is resorted to except in certain categories which doubtless have their own explanation. There was also drawn into connection with this the most striking deviation in Greek from the so-called 'Three Morae Law.' In such a sentence, for example, as *οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ἐμπίπτουσιν ἔξωθεν*, there occurs in three of the five words this skipping of the long penult in violation of the 'three morae' principle. Whatever may be the ultimate explanation of all these phenomena, it does not seem to me that we can as yet go back of a simple repugnance of the language to accenting the penult in words ending with this trochaic cadence.²

In the words in question we find : —

ἐγωγε, *ἐμοῦγε*, *ἐμοιγε*, *ἐμέγε*,

that is, where the genitive already gave a properispomenon, no change was made ; but, as changing the nom. and dat. into properispomena was evidently out of the question, the accent was retracted and we find the familiar type of proparoxytone with trochaic cadence. The accusative *ἐμέγε*, again, gave no difficulty ; the tribrach endings, as I have shown in the article cited, fare alike with the dactyls as far as paroxytonesis is

¹ I venture still to call it a 'theory,' although Hirt, following Brugmann's weighty authority, speaks of it as 'eine Entdeckung.' But inasmuch as Hirt (p. 28) says that Wheeler has no phonetic explanation to offer further than 'die Neigung der Sprache . . . dem Hochtone eine lange Silbe immer vorauszuschicken,' it would seem safer, however enticing this law may appear, still to reserve final assent. I have shown (l.c.) that Brugmann's essentially modified statement (*i.e.* 'bloss an die Kürze der vorletzten Silbe sich anknüpfend'; see Wheeler, p. 61, note) is consistent with facts about tribrach and other endings; these, on the other hand, so obstinately contradict Wheeler's 'Dactylic Law' as to leave, in my judgment, the burden of proof still upon the shoulders of its adherents.

² Another explanation, which reduces the penult to one and one-half morae, is advanced by Hirt (p. 37), but not with any very great confidence.

concerned. The point in common is that they are both pyrrhics.

Hirt assumes an **ἔγω* and **ἔμοι* as preserved in the enclitic combination, and that *ἐγώ* and *ἐμοί* were accented anew after the analogy of *ἐμέ*.

The lack of agreement between such types as Grk. *εἶδος* and Skr. *védas* (Bloomfield, A. J. P. IX. p. 25, which is quoted with approval by Hirt) shows, it might also be urged, how inexorable was the tendency to avoid paroxytonesis in trochaic endings, and this much is plain whether it be attributed with Bloomfield to the recessive tendency or otherwise explained with Hirt. À propos of *μήτηρ* — or Hirt's theoretical **μητήρ* — *μητρός* may be mentioned the curious accent of the compound *Δημήτηρ*, *Δήμητρος*, where the accent refuses to remain oxytone or to follow the position of that of the nominative and to become properispomenon **Δημηήτρος* in the genitive.¹

Doubtless it would be more satisfactory if we could establish a survival of a more ancient **ἔγω* and **ἔμοι*, than it is to fall back thus upon this unexplained tendency to favor a certain cadence. There are other trochaic combinations of enclitics, indeed, that apparently conquer this repugnance and show paroxytone accent, — *καίτοι*, *ἦτοι*, *τοιγάρτοι*, *τοίνυν*, *καίπερ*, *ὥσπερ*, *ἤπερ*, *ὥστε*, *εἴθε*, and *εἴτε*. These forms are difficult to explain. It may be claimed that the momentum of a common word like *καί* is such as to forbid the change of accent in the new and temporary combination with the enclitic, and perhaps this is a sufficient explanation. In none of them, moreover, except *τοιγάρτοι*, would recession beyond the long penult be possible. It is a temptation, however, to try to explain some, at least, of these on other grounds.

The recent — but now generally accepted — explanation of the accent of (properispomenon) *οἴκοι* (nom.) as compared with (paroxytone) *οἴκοι* (loc.) and with the long quantity of the ultima in the opt. mood, by calling in the undertone, drawled (schleifender) accent from the Lithuanian, suggests

¹ Bopp, *Accentuationssystem*, p. 20.

a possible explanation for the *-τοι* form, and Wackernagel's new explanation of a neglected tradition of the Greek grammarians would tempt one to explain in a similar way those compounded with *-νν* and *-περ*, if the derivation and other considerations would permit.

If *οἴκοι* (loc.), though scanned as a trochee, was accented as a spondee by virtue of the 'drawled' (schleifender) tone (cf. the perispomenon *Ἰσθμοῖ*), why may not *ῆτοι* — certainly the accent predominating over *ῆτοι* (cf. Wackernagel, p. 21) — have been at least reinforced for the same reason? It is, at least, remarkable that the circumflexed *ῆ* with *-τοι* becomes paroxytone. The distinction made between *ῆτοι* and *ῆτοι* by tradition is none too clear. Although *-τοι* be identified with *σοί*, it may nevertheless be entitled to a 'drawled' tone. Wackernagel (l.c. note to p. 20), in speaking of the circumflex on *οἶ*, says: "Im Grunde ist nicht sein (*i.e.* of *οἶ*) Zirkumflex, sondern der Akut der beiden anderen Formen (*i.e.* *σοί*, *μοί*) auffällig, da die Dativ-Locative auf *-οι* sonst zirkumflektiert werden."

If this hypothesis were true for *ῆτοι*, then for *καίτοι* and *τοιγάρτοι* also. In the latter, as has been said above, a possible proparoxytonesis is avoided.

For *τοίνυν*, *καίπερ*, etc., an explanation might seem to be opened up by Wackernagel's theory to explain the accent of enclitic combinations like *ἐνθά ποτε*. This double accent of *ἐνθα*, etc., is handed down by the grammarians (see Chandler, § 965), although modern editors generally (but cf. Wheeler, p. 128) have ignored it. Wackernagel, appealing for a parallel to the 'Litauischer Zirkumflex' where a circumflex is found with one foot, so to speak, resting on a vowel and the other on a following liquid or nasal, claims that combinations like *ἐνθά ποτε*, *φύλλά τε*, *λάμπέ τε*, *θάρσός μοι*, really had a circumflex on the first syllable, though it was graphically unprovided for in the Greek signs. If this were admitted as a working principle on Greek ground, one might be tempted thus to explain the paroxytone *τοίνυν* and even to extend it to *καίπερ*, etc., were it not for the probable history of *-περ* as an enclitic form of I.E. *péri*. In addition to this objection Professor

Bloomfield would not, as I infer from an informal conversation, accept as proved on Greek ground this Baltic-Slavonic circumflex on a vowel + liquid or nasal, with which Wackernagel operates to explain *ἐνθά ποτε*, etc. Hirt, however (p. 38), accepts Wackernagel's contention with enthusiasm, and not only says, "wir müssten eigentlich *ἐνδόν τε* schreiben, wobei alles klar wird," but he actually finds it necessary to account for the properispomenon *οἶκον* co-existing with the 'drawled' tone on the ultima, and he says (l.c.), "als notwendige Folgerung ist nun aufzustellen, dass die einfachen langen Vokale mit Stosston *ā*, *ω* für den Akzent kurz waren, es müsste eben so gut *χωρᾶ*, wie *οἶκοι* geschrieben werden." Certainly this is going still further than the suggestions here offered with all due hesitation.

There would still remain *ᾧστε*, *εἴτε*, *εἴθε*, and the strange *ναίχι*, etc., though *ᾧστε* and *εἴτε* may perhaps be sufficiently explained as composed of the union of proclitics and enclitics.

One other contention made by Wackernagel in his *Beiträge* raises an objection that he does not seem to have noticed. He contends (*Beitr.* p. 21 ff.) that the Greeks really pronounced every accented ultima before an enclitic with the acute accent even where the circumflex was written: thus *ἀγαθοῦ τινος* was pronounced *ἀγαθοῦ τινος*. This would avoid the violation of the 'three morae' law which occurs in *ἀγαθοῦ τινος*, where the circumflex really brings the accent four morae from the end of the combination. He says (p. 21): "Da ein wirklicher Zirkumflex nicht zwei unbetonte Silben hinter sich haben kann, muss in solchen Fällen ein Akut gesprochen und der Zirkumflex bloss darum geschrieben worden sein, weil er der betr. Form auch sonst eigen war." But in the case of *δυντινων*, even if one were to assume **ᾧντινων* for the pronunciation, we should still have an equally inadmissible proparoxytone with a long ultima.

His statement of the accentuation of the last syllable before an enclitic must therefore be made more sweeping or this explanation must yield to another.

Finally, — to return to the terminations with trochaic cadence, — Wackernagel's convincing application of the enclisis

of the finite verb, upon which is built up his whole theory of the 'recessive accent,' deals notably with a case of the skipping over the trochee. The whole paradigm of *εἰμί* exemplifies it, and the forms *φημί* and *φησί*—certainly the most prominent of that paradigm—are of the same measure: in their case it was oxytone¹ or nothing, unless under certain exceptional conditions.

So, too, among the enclitic pronouns the only trochaic forms, *σφωέ* and *σφωίν*, are oxytone when accented at all.

¹ Cf. e.g. the anomalous *τί φημί*; Soph. *O. T.* 1471.

IV. — *The Origin of Sigma Lunatum.*

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THE earliest and indeed the only form of sigma found upon the most ancient Greek papyri¹ is the *sigma lunatum*, or crescent-shaped sigma, — a form also referred to in literature as far back as the age of Alexander. In a well-known line of the iambographer Aeschrio, the contemporary and friend of Aristotle,² the (new) moon is described as the beautiful sigma of the heavens.³ On the Artemisia papyrus⁴ in Vienna, which may still be regarded as the oldest⁵ Greek inscribed papyrus (ca. 300 B.C.), the letter assumes an angular form <. This crescent-shaped sigma persisted without essential modification for more than a thousand years. Inscriptions, however, contemporary with the oldest papyri, as well as those of earlier and later date, regularly⁶ give us the four-bar Ionic form (Ξ).

Sigma lunatum is usually explained as derived from the Ionic sigma by successive simplifications, due, first, to a rounding of the exterior angles, and, secondly, either to a merging of the outer curves thus obtained into one long

¹ Cf. Blass, *Griechische Paläographie* (I. Müller, *Handbuch* I²), pp. 304 ff.

² So at least Suidas (Ptolemy Chennus?).

³ *Μηνὴ τὸ καλὸν οὐρανοῦ νέον σῆμα*, ap. Walz, *Rhet. Graeci*, III. 651 (Anon. Epit. Rhet.). Bergk suggests that *νέη* should be read, 'verbis audacius traiectis' (P. L. G. II⁴. p. 516). Of course *νέον* does not mean 'a new form of sigma.'

⁴ Facsimile in *Palaeographical Society*, II. pl. 141, and in part in Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, p. 118. Cf. Blass, *Philologus*, XLI. p. 746 ff.

⁵ Thompson, *l.c.*, p. 118. Mahaffy places slightly earlier than the Artemisia papyrus some scraps from Gurob, in which the Labors of Heracles seem to be described (*Petrie Papyri*, pp. 52 ff., and table of alphabets opposite p. 64). Wattenbach speaks of this alphabet as about the same age as the Artemisia papyrus (*Anleitung zur Griechischen Paläographie*, 3d ed., p. 9). Cf. Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 30, note.

⁶ Sporadically sigma lunatum appears on the stones from the fourth century B.C. onward: cf. Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik* (I. Müller, *Handbuch* I²) p. 535.

sweeping crescent (with or without an attempt to preserve a trace of the entering angle), or to a discarding of one of the curves.¹

This derivation may be illustrated as follows :

$$\xi \longrightarrow \{ \longrightarrow \epsilon \longrightarrow \text{C}$$

It is the purpose of this paper to show that the more probable derivation of sigma lunatum is from the three-bar Attic letter ς , of which it was an earlier cursive form. Or :

$$\varsigma \longrightarrow \xi \longrightarrow \text{C} \longrightarrow \text{C}$$

The evidence upon which this theory is based is drawn in large part from the Athenian vase inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. In palaeographical questions of this sort the evidence of the vases has been too little employed. The vase inscriptions stand midway between epigraphical and palaeographical monuments, sharing the qualities of each : between these two stools they fall to the ground. The neglect of them is due in part also to the inadequate character of much of our information concerning the true forms of letters on the vases. Editors of catalogues of vase collections, and other writers on the subject, are frequently satisfied with giving only a few representative forms, from fonts of printed type, and not exact facsimiles from which alone safe inferences can be drawn. The tables of facsimiles, however, in Jahn's Munich catalogue and in Heydemann's Naples catalogue, and the carefully executed facsimiles in Furtwängler's model Berlin catalogue, are happy exceptions. In these facsimiles, in a few others in recent periodical publications, as well as on the vases themselves (in the Boston collection), I have found what appear to me sufficient data for determining the question.

The inquiry is interesting as throwing some new light on the probable forms of the letters used in the autograph manuscripts of the great writers of the fifth century B.C.

My contention, then, is in brief that sigma lunatum is

¹ Blass, *Griech. Paläographie*, p. 304.

a cursive form of the three-bar Attic Σ . It is important, before proceeding further, to define what we here mean by a 'cursive' letter, since there are two classes of forms to which the term might be applied.

There are two classes of cursive forms, which we may designate respectively as *normal* cursives, and as *casual* cursives. The former are the shapes that letters *regularly* assume, when one writes *currente calamo*. As contrasted with the engraved 'print' form, they are commonly uniform and rounded, instead of angular. The latter, the 'casual' cursives, are the *irregular* forms into which, in hasty writing, the set, engraved, or print letters are thrown. When in an epigraphic monument — an Athenian decree, for example — we find a rounded form of a letter, instead of the more usual angular form, in the midst of carefully cut letters retained in the angular form, we may safely assume that this rounded letter is a 'normal' cursive imported into the epigraphical alphabet from the script. Such an occurrence may be used as a test of the normal cursive letters. Inscriptions of all sorts furnish excellent examples of both kinds of cursives. The same letter, at a given date, may have then three distinct kinds of form: (1) the regular epigraphic, monumental form, which may or may not differ from (2) its normal cursive form; (3) one or more casual cursive forms. Thus, for the Ionic sigma we have: (1) Σ ; (2) ξ , as I shall later seek to show; and (3) ξ , ϵ , etc. For Attic sigma we have: (1) Σ ; (2) \angle or C; and (3) S, Σ , Λ , etc.

Of course we must assume that the normal cursive originated in a casual cursive which convenience in writing had made a typical form. For convenience, in the remaining part of this discussion, the word cursive, when used alone, will be employed in the sense of the 'normal' form. And in the application of this criterion to vase inscriptions the utmost caution must be exercised.

That there were true cursive letters in the Old Attic alphabet, or in fact much before the beginning of the fourth century B.C., in short, that there was a script hand differing from the monumental hand in the fifth century, has been either

tacitly ignored or openly denied by scholars.¹ It has been assumed that in these times there was no essential difference between the forms of letters as engraved on the monuments and as written on soft wax tablets or on sheets of papyrus. In the earliest period, when there was little writing, this may well have been the case; and the prevalence for the most part of epigraphic forms on the vases of the earlier period proves it. But with the abundant preparation of books and with the teaching of writing at school, it was inevitable that a cursive style should set in, the evidence for which is furnished not only by the vases, but also by the inscriptions on stones.

Now, as I shall try to show, not only were there cursive forms of letters in the earlier period (or before 403 B.C.), but there were cursive forms both for letters of the Old Attic alphabet and for those of the newly adopted Ionic alphabet, alphabets which at least in private inscriptions were concurrently used throughout the larger part of the fifth century. To the much that has been written proving the use of the Ionic alphabet in Athens for literary purposes in the fifth century I will add nothing:² I wish, however, to emphasize the fact that the Attic was also used for literary purposes. This clearly appears from the language of Theopompus,³ from which we learn that the decree of Archinus promulgating the Ionic as the official alphabet from 403-2 B.C. onward had reference not only to public documents, but also to writing in the schools (*τοὺς γραμματιστὰς παιδεύειν τὴν Ἴωνικὴν γραμματικὴν*). In the schools manuscript⁴ copies of literary works, especially of epic and lyric poets, were used; these, then, at least to some extent, must have been previously written in the Attic alphabet. A pretty proof, not only of the use of manuscripts in schools, but also of the

¹ Wilamowitz, *Philol. Untersuchungen*, VII. p. 307. His statement, however, that the vases give a 'lediglich monumentales alphabet' needs qualification.

² Wilamowitz, *ibid.*, pp. 286 ff.; Kretschmer, *Griechische Vasenschriften*, p. 106. But cf. Blass, *l.c.*, pp. 301 ff.

³ *Schol. Dion. Thrac.*, ap. Bekker, *Anecd.* 783. 20; Phot. *Biblioth. cod.* 176. Cf. Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXV. pp. 591 ff. Kretschmer, *Griech. Vasenschriften*, pp. 103, 106, note.

⁴ Plato, *Prot.* 325 E.

presence in the manuscripts of Attic (as well as Ionic) forms, is accessible in the charming scene on the familiar Duris vase¹ in the Berlin Museum, where a teacher holds in his hand a papyrus roll on which are written phrases from an epic passage in which we find in close juxtaposition Attic and Ionic forms² (Σ, Ω, etc.).

Side by side, then, if we may infer from the inscriptions of the fifth century, the Attic and Ionic forms of the same letter were not infrequently used — much as long and short s's occur simultaneously in the same page in an English manuscript. This concurrent use would lead the average writer and reader to forget their difference of origin, and, in due time, of the two forms the one best adapted for writing would supersede the more difficult one. Thus, on my theory, Attic cursive sigma ζ (from Σ) superseded, for general literary use, the Ionic cursive sigma ξ (from Ξ). But I anticipate. It remains to be proved that there were in use in the fifth century B.C. distinctly cursive forms as contrasted with the more familiar epigraphic forms.

It is impossible here to treat exhaustively the subject of cursive letters in fifth century Greek writing. But for a period ending not much later than 350 B.C. and running well back into the fifth century, we have, at least, the following forms, which I believe may be safely assumed to have been normal cursive letters:—

Ε for Ε.³

¹ *Berlin Vasensammlung*, No. 2285. Figured in *Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. 54; *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, pl. 1 (Michaelis); Gardner-Jevons, *Manual of Greek Antiquities*, frontispiece and pp. 309 ff.; Anderson-Schreiber, *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, pl. 90. 2, etc. Cf. Kretschmer, *l.c.*, pp. 104 ff.

² There are many cases of mixture of the Ionic and Attic alphabets on the vases. Cf. Kretschmer, *ibid.*, p. 105. Add Boston, Perkins coll. (Brygos? 9 ΣΩ). See also below, pp. 86–9, for a few additional instances, especially of Ξ, Σ, ζ.

³ The classical example is in a correction in C. I. A. II¹. 17 A, 45 (B.C. 377), where we read ΜΕΝΟΙ. Cf. also C. I. A. II. 1137, 8 (B.C. 305–4). The vases furnish many examples; e.g. ΛΕΑΠΟΣ, Brit. Mus. B 325 (Walters), or Munich, 48 (Jahn); ΣΙΜΕ, Naples, S. A. 172 (Heydemann). To be sure on the Artemisia papyrus and in the Heracles fragments (see above, p. 79, note 5), Ε has the angular form, but the retention of epigraphic forms with cursive forms is not surprising.

Perhaps Δ for Δ ,¹ to distinguish it from Δ (a).

ξ for ξ . There are several pieces of evidence that tend to show that this form, with waving outline, was the normal cursive for ξ , rather than ξ or ϵ , and that the latter where found are rather of the nature of casual cursives.

(1) Some Ionic inscriptions give the form ξ , or ξ , for the four-bar sigma.² That this is a normal and not a casual cursive, appears probable from the fact that this waving, rounded form occurs sometimes in the midst of rather carefully executed angular forms, where indeed it would have been easier for the stone-cutter to have used the angular form. In these and all similar cases we may safely assume that the stone-cutter was merely imitating, perhaps inadvertently, the cursive forms occurring in his hastily prepared manuscript copy.

(2) Further evidence is afforded by well-known descriptions of sigma that have come down to us. Thus the shepherd in Euripides's *Theseus*³ describes the third letter in the name of Theseus as $\beta\acute{o}\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ τις ὡς εἰλιγμένος; and the rustic, in a play of Theodectes,⁴ says of the same letter that it is $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\kappa\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\beta\acute{o}\sigma\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omega$ προσεμφερές, and later that it is $\beta\acute{o}\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$. These phrases mean a 'curl of hair,' a 'wavy lock.' Such waving locks we see, for example, on the ancient statues of Apollo, and in the tresses of Nike on vase paintings.⁵ Agathon⁶ likens the letter to a Scythian bow — $\Sigma\kappa\upsilon\theta\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$ τε

¹ This form is a cursive in the *Antiope* fragments (*Petrie Papyri*, plates 1, 2). It also occurs on a red-figured 'amphora' in the Ashmolean collection (Gardner, No. 276), of the 'fine style,' where we read — incised on the bottom of the vase — ΚΑΔΙ ($\sigma\kappa\omicron\varsigma$), the name of the vase. Of $\Delta = \alpha$ the vases furnish many examples; cf. also C. I. A. II¹. 1 b, *passim* (B.C. 403).

² Cf. Roberts, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Nos. 133, 134 (Miletus). The forms are more correctly given in Roehl, *Imagines Inscriptionum Graecarum Antiquiss.*, 2d ed., p. 48, Nos. 2, 3. See also Roberts, *l.c.*, 42 a (Sigeon inscription), or Roehl, *l.c.*, p. 50. 8.

³ Athen. X. 454 c (Nauck, T. G. F². p. 477).

⁴ Athen. X. 454 e (Nauck, T. G. F². p. 803).

⁵ Cf. the Nike in the Ashmolean collection, Gardner, No. 274, pl. 2. Gardthausen, however, seems to assume that the word $\beta\acute{o}\sigma\tau\rho\upsilon\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$ in these passages refers to the crescent sigma, but hardly correctly (*Griechische Paläographie*, p. 106) Cf. Blass, *l.c.*, p. 304.

⁶ Athen. X. 454 D. There is no doubt whatever as to the shape of the Scythian bow. To the evidence on this point, cited by Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dic-*

τόξῳ τὸ τρίτον ἦν προσεμφερές — the shape of which was ξ. Neither of these descriptions fits the form ξ or Ε, which Blass postulates as the transitional forms of sigma lunatum.

Indeed, apart from the considerations just urged, Ε could not have been a normal cursive form for sigma. It was, as we have seen, already in current use for Ε, and it is extremely improbable that two distinct letters could have had the same normal cursive form. A few cases are cited where ξ or Ε do duty for sigma.¹ I am disposed to explain these as casual cursives, if not at times, especially in the case of Ε, actually clumsy attempts to change a C already written or cut into something looking more like ξ, by adding the cross-bar. Indeed, for C. I. A. II. 236, 8 (B.C. 312) this explanation is highly probable: the stone-cutter had — *ex hypothesi* — carelessly cut a sigma lunatum (following his papyrus copy): observing his blunder, he seeks to correct it. The curved line already cut cannot be changed; the horizontal line is an approach to the reëntrant angle of the four-bar sigma.

In view of these considerations it seems probable that in the cursive writing of the fifth century B.C., the Ionic four-bar sigma had taken on the normal form ξ, and that the other shapes of this letter are merely irregular and accidental.

Instances have been given above of several cursive forms of letters in use as early as the last half of the fifth century B.C. That sigma lunatum — C for σ — was also an early cursive form (*i.e.* before 403–2 B.C.) admits of easy demonstration: (1) This form occurs on vases of Athenian manufacture, known, from external evidence,² to be earlier than

tionnaire des Antiquités, I. p. 389, add Amphis, fr. 13 (Kock), where Plato's knit brows (σκυθρωπάζειν . . . ἐπηρκῶς τὰς ὀφρύς) had the form of a Scythian bow (cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 7, μὴ σκυθρώπας, ὃ τέκνον. | οὐ γὰρ πρέπει σοι τοξοποιεῖν τὰς ὀφρύς).

¹ On Ε for σ, on the stones, see Larfeld, *Griech. Epigraphik* (I. Müller, *Handbuch*, I².), p. 535; add C. I. A. IV. 2, 53 a (after B.C. 418). Vases furnish a few instances of ξ = σ. See also C. I. A. I. 510 (somewhat later than 450 B.C.). Meisterhans, *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, 2d ed., pp. 1, 2, and notes.

² Some of the vases, — of Athenian origin, — on which the form occurs, come from the Greek graves in Gela, where entombment had ceased after the capture of the city by the Carthaginians in B.C. 405; Gardner, *Ashmolean Museum*, p. vi (Evans). Other forms are on Athenian vases from Nola, to which, as Winter has

403 B.C.; (2) it occurs on vases showing in their technique both of form, drawing, and other ornamentation, the 'early fine' or the 'fifth century' style of Athenian vase painters;¹ (3) it occurs in vase inscriptions along with the distinctive forms (and values) of the Attic alphabet, some of which are universally admitted to have passed out of use about 403 B.C. and others before 300 B.C. In nearly all of these cases, then, the form must belong to a period at least as early as the closing years of the fifth century B.C. And as this form, which occurs frequently, is often carefully and not hurriedly drawn, it must be assumed to have become a normal and must not be regarded as a casual cursive.

A few representative examples may be cited.

1. ΚΛΕΝΙΑC | ΚΑΛΩC. Κλεινίας καλός. Red-figured Nolan amphora, in the British Museum, E 297; Klein, *Liebblingsins.*, p. 84. 4. The many vases with this 'love-name' belong to the same period as those with Charmides, which Cecil Smith would date between 400 and 380 B.C. (*Journ. Hellen. S.*, 1883, p. 97), which is perhaps too late. Klein suggests that Cleinias may well have been the father of Alcibiades; Percy Gardner thinks the brother of Alcibiades may here be meant (*Ashmolean Museum*, on No. 309).

2. ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΩΞ | ΚΑΛΩC | ΕΓΙΧΑΡΟC. Ἀλκίμαχος καλός Ἐπιχάρους. Red-figured amphora from Nola, in the British Museum, E 330; Klein, *ibid.*, p. 85. 2. Two other vase-inscriptions with Alcimachus as 'love-name,' in which C = σ, are cited by Klein, *ibid.*, 4 (ΚΑΛΟΣ, ΚΑΛΟC, etc.), and 6.

In our 1 and 2 the writing of Ω = ο suggests an Athenian-Parian-Thasian artist, or at least one working under the influence of the great Thasian master Polygnotus in the fifth century B.C.

3. ΗΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝ | ΚΑΛΟC. Ὑγιαίων καλός. Polychrome lecythus with white ground, in the British Museum; Klein, *ibid.*, p. 86. 1. The use of H = ι and O = ω point to a date that can hardly be later than 403 B.C.

shown, the export of Athenian vases ceased about 425 B.C.; Winter, *Die Jüngerer Attischen Vasen*, pp. 3, 4.

¹ E.g., *Ashmolean Museum*, No. 266 (from Gela), No. 288 (from Chiusi); Klein, *Liebblingsinschriften*, p. 86 (our No. 3); Boston, Robinson's *Catalogue*, No. 448 (from Eretria); Berlin, No. 2529 (from Chiusi).

4. ΑΛΚΙΜ·ΔΗC | ΚΑΛΟC | ΑΙΕ+ΥΛΙΔΟ. Ἀλκιμ[ή]δος καλὸς Αἰσχυλίδου. White lecythus from Gela, in Oxford (*Ashmolean Museum*, No. 266, Gardner), figured in Klein, *ibid.*, p. 83. 'Beautiful drawing of the fifth century' (Gardner).

5. ΛΙ+ΑC | ΚΑΛΟC. Λίχας καλός. Polychrome white lecythus from Eretria, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (No. 448, Robinson). Klein, *ibid.*, pp. 82, 83, cites three other Lichas vases (two Nolan amphorae and a lecythus), on one of which we read ΛΙ+ΑΞ | ΚΑΛΟC | ΞΑΜ·ΟΞ. Λίχας καλὸς Σάμιος. To Klein's list must now be added our No. 5 (Boston, No. 448); a second Boston lecythus (Perkins collection); and a third lecythus in Athens, cited by Pollak, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitt. aus Öst.*, 1895, p. 19. 18, making six vases with Lichas as 'love-name.' These vases are of Athenian origin, and belong not later than 350 B.C.

6. ΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟC || ΚΔΛΟC || ΓΑΑ . . ΙΣΤΕ || ΚΑΛΛΙΑΞ || ΕΥΑΙΟΝ. Εὐαίνετος || καλός || πα[ναρ]ίστη (so Heydemann) || Καλλίας || Εὐαίων. Red-figured bell-crater from Sorrento, now in Naples, Coll. Santangelo, No. 281 (Heydemann, p. 697); Klein, *ibid.*, p. 69. 4. Inscription also in C. I. G. 8077; cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 82, 16. Euaeon, as a 'love-name,' occurs on six vases indexed by Klein, none of which can be later than 350 B.C. This Callias is identified by Klein with 'Kallias III'; a cylix bearing his name contains a design drawn 'im Stil der Parthenonfigur' (Hartwig *ap.* Klein, p. 62).

These examples, which might be multiplied, are sufficient to prove—with the other considerations—that sigma lunatum was in use as a cursive form while the Attic alphabet was still employed,—before 403 B.C. (as well as long afterward). It remains, however, to be shown that it was a simplification not of the Ionic four-bar sigma, as has been generally maintained, but of the Attic three-bar letter.

As we have found it in use along with Ionic sigma at a date when various Attic letters were concurrently used with the Ionic, it may very well have been one of the Attic letters. Again, in the great Eastern group of Greek alphabets, in branches closely related to the Ionic alphabet, if not in the alphabet itself, the symbol < C had—at least in the fifth

century B.C. — a very different value from that of sigma. Thus, at Paros, Delos, Naxos, and Ceos, it had the value of β^1 ; at Melos it had the value of σ^2 ; and at Samothrace, in an angular form (retrograde), it had the value of γ^3 while at Corinth, Corcyra, Rhodes, etc., in its curved form, it had the same value.⁴ It seems highly improbable that the symbol could have had in the *Ionic* alphabet also at the same time the value of sigma.

We should be obliged to accept the derivation of C from Σ only if C had first come into existence at a period when Σ was the sole form in use, long after the disappearance of ς . Such is by no means the fact. As we have seen above, C occurs, simultaneously with ς , in inscriptions that belong not later at least than B.C. 403.

The Athenian vase inscriptions furnish numerous examples of forms of ς , originally casual cursives, which inevitably led the way to the form C and secured its adoption as the normal cursive form in Attic writing. Greatest caution must be exercised in the use of this evidence: many of the examples are undoubtedly of the nature of casual cursives, but there is a good residuum from which safe inferences may be drawn.

Innumerable instances occur where the lower bar of three-bar ς is abbreviated; these are of course carelessly written three-bar sigmas, but they led the way to the final dropping of the lower bar and the establishment of the form < C as a form of sigma.⁵ Many vases signed by Tleson (late sixth century B.C.) show this form, which at this early date can

¹ Cf., e.g., Roberts, *Gr. Epigraphy*, Nos. 17 (Paros), 24 a (Delos), 26 a (Naxos), No. 32 (Ceos?).

² Roberts, *ibid.*, Nos. 8 f.

³ Roberts, *ibid.*, No. 162.

⁴ Roberts, *ibid.*, Nos. 87 (Corinth), 98 (Corcyra), 131 a (Rhodes).

⁵ The history of the ancient form of P offers a parallel to that of sigma lunatum. In the later forms of the Greek alphabet P lost its appendage, and became P, while in the Italic alphabets it lengthened the appendage and became R. Similarly, on my theory, ς dropped, in the Attic alphabet, its lower bar and became sigma lunatum, while in the Italic alphabets it became established, with a lengthening and rounding of both upper and lower bars, in the form S.

only have been a casual cursive: *e.g.*, Naples, Coll. Santangelo, 271; Berlin, 1756; Munich, 17, 19; Boston, 364. Other cases of the same and of later date, where the other letters of the inscriptions are prevailingly, though not universally, written in the Attic alphabet, are Berlin, 1732, 1758; Coll. Spagna, in Kretschmer, p. 138; Naples, Rac. Cumana, 207; Berlin, 2531; Dresden, in *Arch. Anz.* 1892, p. 166; Berlin, 2529; Palermo, in Klein, *l.c.*, p. 71; etc., etc.

In this paper I have endeavored to show (1) that < C form the close of a continuous series of developments of Attic < ; (2) that the form was used in inscriptions of a date earlier than that at which the Attic alphabet passed out of use, and as there used in connection with Attic letters may well have been an Attic letter (though not necessarily so); (3) that it could not have been Ionic in origin, since at this time the symbol had another significance in several alphabets closely related to the Ionic; and (4) that it could not have been the Ionic cursive form of ξ, since this letter had at this time established itself in another and quite different cursive form. The conclusion is therefore forced upon us that sigma lunatum is derived from the three-bar Attic sigma. And in the text-criticism of the earliest autographic copies of the great writers of the classical age, as well as in the transcripts of much later date, we shall hereafter have to deal with the crescent form of sigma.

APPENDIX.

- I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSION, PROVIDENCE, R. I., 1896.
- II. TREASURER'S REPORT (p. iv.).
- III. BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD (p. lxvii.).
- IV. LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS (p. lxxix.).
- V. CONSTITUTION OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. xciv.).
- VI. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION (p. xcvi.).

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE AT THE TWENTY-EIGHTH
ANNUAL SESSION (PROVIDENCE).

Frederic D. Allen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
George Gillespie Allen, Malden, Mass.
Francis G. Allinson, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
George K. Bartholomew, English and Classical School, Cincinnati, O.
William N. Bates, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
A. L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
Demarchus C. Brown, Butler College, Irvington, Ind.
Carleton L. Brownson, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Walter H. Buell, Scranton, Pa.
Mitchell Carroll, Richmond College, Richmond, Va.
Edward B. Clapp, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
Arthur S. Cooley, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
M. E. Dunham, University of Colorado, Boulder, Col.
Mortimer Lamson Earle, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Herman L. Ebeling, Miami University, Oxford, O.
W. A. Eckels, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
Thomas H. Eckfeldt, Friends' Academy, New Bedford, Mass.
L. H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Arthur Fairbanks, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
H. Rushton Fairclough, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
O. M. Fernald, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Susan B. Franklin, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Julius Goebel, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
Thomas D. Goodell, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
Alfred Gudeman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Albert Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Albert Granger Harkness, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
Karl P. Harrington, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
John H. Hewitt, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass.
Henry T. Hildreth, Roanoke College, Salem, Va.
William A. Houghton, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
Albert A. Howard, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Andrew Ingraham, Swain Free School, New Bedford, Mass.
A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Lida Shaw King, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Charles Knapp, Barnard College, New York, N. Y.
Abby Leach, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Thomas B. Lindsay, Boston University, Boston, Mass.

Henry F. Linscott, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.
 Gonzalez Lodge, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 H. W. Magoun, Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.
 J. Irving Manatt, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
 F. A. March, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
 George F. Mellen, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.
 Elmer T. Merrill, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
 William A. Merrill, University of California, Berkeley, Cal.
 Frank G. Moore, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
 George F. Moore, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.
 Edward P. Morris, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Barker Newhall, Monson, Mass.
 W. B. Owen, Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.
 William F. Palmer, Lake Forest, Ill.
 James M. Paton, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
 Charles Peabody, Boston, Mass.
 Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 John Pickard, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.
 Samuel B. Platner, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.
 William Carey Poland, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
 Ernst Riess, New York, N. Y.
 Joseph C. Rockwell, University of California, Berkeley.
 W. S. Scarborough, Wilberforce University, Wilberforce, O.
 J. B. Sewall, Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Mass.
 T. D. Seymour, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
 Clement L. Smith, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.
 Helen L. Webster, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
 John Williams White, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 Margaret M. Wickham, Leland Stanford Jr. University, Palo Alto, Cal.
 B. Lawton Wiggins, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn.
 George A. Williams, Brown University, Providence, R. I.
 Frank E. Woodhull, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me.
 John Henry Wright, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[Total, 73.]

AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., July 7, 1896.

The Twenty-Eighth Annual Session was called to order at 3.10 P.M. in the Lyman Gymnasium of Brown University, by the President, Professor Francis A. March, of Lafayette College.

The Secretary of the Association, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, presented the following report : —

1. The Executive Committee has elected as members of the Association : —

William Van Allen Catron, Assistant Professor of Latin, University of Missouri.

Emma Kirkland Clark, Professor of Latin, Elmira College.

Arthur Stoddard Cooley, Ph.D., Instructor in Greek, Harvard University.

Annie Crosby Emery, Ph.D., Ellsworth, Me.

George Taylor Ettinger, Professor of Paedagogy and Latin, Muhlenberg College.

F. S. Fosdick, Teacher of Classics, High School, Buffalo, N. Y.

James M. Gregory, Principal of the Manual Training School, Bordentown, N. J.

F. A. Hall, Professor of Greek, Drury College.

John Calvin Hanna, Principal of South High School, Columbus, O.

G. R. Hardie, Professor of Latin, St. Laurence University.

Albert Granger Harkness, Professor of Latin, Brown University.

J. E. Harry, Professor of Greek and German, Georgetown College.

Otto Heller, Professor of German, Washington University.

H. N. Herrick, Professor of Latin, Eureka College.

Henry T. Hildreth, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Ancient Languages, Roanoke College.

Arthur W. Hodgman, Ph.D., Instructor in Latin, Ohio State University.

George E. Howes, Professor of Greek, University of Vermont.

Frank G. Hubbard, Assistant Professor of English Literature, University of Wisconsin.

Augustine Jones, LL.B., Principal of the Friends' School, Providence, R. I.

Lida Shaw King, Instructor in Latin, Vassar College.

Henry F. Linscott, Ph.D., Instructor in Latin, University of North Carolina.

John M. Manly, Professor of the English Language, Brown University.

John L. Margrander, Rochester, N. Y.

Lewis B. Moore, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Greek and Roman History, Howard University.

Paul E. More, Associate in Sanscrit and Classical Literature, Bryn Mawr College.

American Philological Association.

George F. Mill, Professor of Latin, Franklin and Marshall College.

Ernest T. Owen, Professor of French, University of Wisconsin.

Minna E. Poole, Ithaca, N. Y.

Isaac T. Robinson, Principal of the High School, Albany, N. Y.

Joseph J. Rockwell, Assistant Professor of Archaeology, University of California.

Leigh Richmond Smith, Teacher of Latin and Greek, High School, San José.

Edward M. Timber, Instructor in Latin and Greek, State Agricultural College, Fort Collins, Colo.

Milton H. Turk, Professor of English, Hobart College.

Elmer E. Wentworth, Professor of English, Vassar College.

2. The TRANSACTIONS and PROCEEDINGS for 1895 (Vol. XXVI) were issued in April. Separate copies of the PROCEEDINGS may be obtained of the Secretary or of the Publishers.

3. The Report of Publications by members of the Association since July 1, 1894, showed a record of books and pamphlets by over fifty-five members. To ensure the completeness of the report it is earnestly requested that every member enter his publications upon the blanks to be sent out in June of each year. It is desirable that only those publications be entered on the list which have a distinctly philological character.

4. The contract with the publishers, Messrs. Ginn & Co., has been renewed for a term of five years.

Professor Smyth then made his report as Treasurer for the year 1895-96:—

RECEIPTS.		
Balance from 1894-95		\$888.47
Membership fees	\$1244.00	
Sales of Transactions	258.30	
Authors' charges	55.85	
Dividend Central New England and Western R. R.	6.00	
Interest	17.76	
Committee of Twelve (traced balance)	1.85	
Total receipts for the year		<u>\$1564.76</u>
		\$2453.23
EXPENDITURES.		
Transactions and Proceedings (Vol. XXVI)	\$394.85	
Salaries of Secretary	150.00	
Committee of Twelve	115.64	
Postage	32.93	
Stationery and Job Printing	36.16	
Expressage	1.60	
Binding	2.40	
Incidental	5.68	
Total Expenditures for the year		<u>\$1427.26</u>
Balance July 1, 1896		1025.97
		<u>\$2453.23</u>

The reading of papers was then begun. At this time there were present about fifty members. At subsequent meetings over seventy members were in attendance.

1. Children on the Stage in the Sanskrit Drama, by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University.

A motto for the paper was found in Hamlet's allusion to the children players in London in the days of Queen Elizabeth (Ham. ii 2. 330). Other instances of children on the stage in the English drama from its beginning to the time of Shakspeare were brought out, and attention was called to the presence of children, as a recognized element in histrionic productions on the Greek stage, and sporadically also in the Latin theatre. The investigation then turned to India.

The romantic character of the ancient Hindu plays was first treated of with reference to the free non-observance of the unity of time. The plot of Kālidāsa's Çakuntalā was chosen as an illustration of the lapse of time during the progress of a play. The dramatic part which Sarvadamana, the little son of the hero and heroine, plays in the *dénouement* of this romantic piece (act vii) was emphasized. Also in Kālidāsa's Vikramōrvaçī, the character of Āyus, scion of the king, served as a good example of a youth's bringing about the happy solution of an involved play.

Bhavabhūti's Uttara-Rāma-Charita, a sort of Sanskrit Winter's Tale, offered parallels to Shakspeare. Kuça and Lava, placed under the guardianship of the sage Vālmiki, become striplings of heroic mould like Guiderius and Aviragus reared by old Belarius in Shakspeare's Cymbeline; and in the sixth act these manly youths are restored to their father, Rāma. In the interlude, or masque production, which is presented in the last act of the drama (act vii), the circumstances of the birth of the two heroic princes are enacted in mimic reality before the king. In this scene the banished queen appears before the audience, supported on either side by Earth and Ganges. These latter impersonations, as the paper showed from the stage-direction, were intended to be represented as holding each an infant boy in the arms (*tataḥ praviçaty utsaṅgitāi 'kāikadārakhābhyam pṛthvigaṅgābhyām avalambitā sītā*). In whatever manner the scene was presented, whether merely by pantomimic gesture or by some more realistic device, none the less, the notion of a child in swaddling clothes is portrayed dramatically, just as in the Winter's Tale (ii. 3) or in Terence's Andria (ii. 6-7). The royal boys whose birth the mimic play enacts, are now grown to be twelve years old, as the play tells us (act iii *et al.*). Like Āyus of the Vikramōrvaçī, they speak Sanskrit, not Prākṛit.

As already noted of the Çakuntalā, the paper observed that also in the Mṛcchakaṭikā the little Rohasena, son of the hero whose fortune has been ruined, is very young and speaks Prākṛit in the climax scene where the lad is introduced. This is the scene, so full of tenderness, that gives the name 'Toy Cart' to the play. In the last act of the same drama (act x), the little fellow is again brought in to add to the pathetic situation of the last hours of a father unjustly condemned to die. The dramatic character of this scene was criticised with some detail. A parallel situation was cited from Viçākhadatta's Mudrā-Rākshasa (act vii), where a child is similarly brought on the stage in the scene of the impending execution.

of a guiltless father sentenced to death. In this play also the young child speaks the Prākṛit dialect.

One other instance of a touching rôle played by a child was adduced from Kshemiçvara's *Caṇḍakāuçika*. The tiny boy's thoughtless and childish Prākṛit prattle 'me too' (*mam pi*) adds depth to the heart-rending nature of the scene in which the unfortunate parents are sold into servitude (act iii), and his seeming death and miraculous restoration to life, in the last act (act v), complete the mingled woof and weft of joy and sorrow that make up the material of this noble tragi-comedy.

The paper closed by estimating the importance of the rôle played by children in the Sanskrit dramas, as compared with the histrionic productions of other nations; and it favorably criticised the faithfulness of touch and the power of expression in portraying the natural love of children which the Hindu plays showed. The concluding paragraph emphasized several points of interest which the early dramas of India possess in the light of parallels that they offer to the plays of Shakspeare.

2. Age at Marriage in the Roman Empire, by Professor Albert Granger Harkness, of Brown University.

This paper is printed in full in the Transactions.

3. Notes on the Etymology of *Atrium*, by Dr. H. W. Magoun, of Oberlin, O.

Probably no other word in Latin, or indeed in the classical languages, has had more etymologies proposed for it than the word *atrium*. No less than seven have been seriously put forward. Two of them are Greek, ἀθριον, suggested by Becker, and αθριον, once largely accepted, and by general consent attributed to Scaliger, who seems to have been the first to propose it. His contemporary, Casaubon, advocates this same view, and in his notes, *animadversiones*, p. 99, on Suetonius, *Augustus*, 29 (p. 37, l. 25, *atrium libertatis*), he says: "in medio erat area sub dio, columnis cincta: ideo is locus etiam *peristylum* appellatur. Idem quoque *impluvium* dicebatur. Atque hoc proprie atrium est, non atrii pars: nam *atrium* ab αθριον, significat locum in aedibus sub dio. Graeci ἑραιθρον frequentius vocant: sed αθριον pro atrio notauimus saepe apud LXX. & Iosephum. . . . Extat & apud Lucianum," etc.

If these two etymologies presented no phonetic difficulties, there would still remain the question of the historical connection to be solved. It can hardly be supposed that the word came into Latin from the Greek through Tuscan and, if it did not, no other bridge appears until the fourth century B.C., which hardly gives time enough for the Romans to completely forget such an origin, as they must have done to accord with the facts. In the case of αθριον, it is clear that its adaptation to the meaning *atrium*, which from the late date of its appearance in Greek in this sense is plainly only a case of popular etymology from the Greek side, has led to the error of reversing the truth in a sense and supposing that *atrium* came from αθριον.

Ottfr. Mueller, *Etrus.* I. 256, draws a comparison, which might possibly be expressed in the form of an equation, between the *Atrias* on the Adriatic Sea and

the *atrium*. He says: "Wie der Atrias am adriatischen Meer ursprünglich das Land der zusammenfließenden Ströme (Athesis, Tartarus, Padus u. s. w.) und der Sammelplatz aller Gewässer Ober-Italiens ist: so ist das Atrium der Theil des Hauses, wo das Wasser, welches auf das Dach herabregnet, im compluvium und impluvium zusammenfließt." See Beck. *Gal.*² II. p. 251. This needs no comment; it is the conception of a poet or a Donnelly.

Festus, quoted by Paulus I. 12, gives two alternatives. The first agrees with Varro, cited below, to which he adds: *vel quod a terra oriatur, quasi aterrium*. This also may be passed over.

Isidor. *Or.* XV. 3, 4, says of it: *dictum est atrium, quod addantur ei tres porticus extrinsecus. Aliis atrium quasi*, etc., which may well be classed with the etymology proposed by Mueller. The other view which he proceeds to give is the same as that of Servius cited below.

Varro, *L. L.* V. 161, says: *Atrium appellatum ab Atriatribus Tuscis*; i. e. from the Tuscan town of Atria, a suggestion which is plausible, although Casaubon ridicules it with others, *loc. cit.*: "Varronis aliorumque veterum notationes quis non rideat?" Varro's view, however, carries with it more than seems probable. If the etymology is correct, the Romans either had no *atrium* at all or none properly speaking until the Tuscan form of building was adopted. The first supposition is contrary to the natural development of the *domus* from the *casa*: in fact all building everywhere seems to have begun with the tent or hut or cave having a single common room to which others were added in the course of time. The second supposition restricts the application of the word originally to the *Tuscanicum*, which Mau (*Marq. Privatl. d. Röm.*² I. p. 223, n. 4) believes to be the meaning of Varro. But this involves both the question of the date of the adoption of the Tuscan form of building, which Göll (Beck. *Gal.*² II. p. 253) thinks may have become general after the burning of Rome by the Gauls (390 B.C.), and the name applied to the original living room of the early Romans before the *Tuscanicum* became common. It also leaves such expressions as *atrium Vestae* to be accounted for and presents other minor difficulties. Such questions as these, which may never be finally settled, manifestly cannot be included within the scope of the present paper.

Servius, *Ad Aen.* I. 726, in speaking of the *atrium*, says: "Ibi et culina erat: unde et *atrium* dictum est; atrum enim erat ex fumo." Strangely enough, Becker (*Gal.*² II. p. 251) says of this etymology: "Servius zu Aen. I, 730 leitet es gar vom Rauche ab:" but Servius plainly gives the word a history similar to that of the Greek *μέλαθρον*, and by so doing allows a very early origin for it. The extreme probability of the correctness of this view has now led to its general acceptance; see *Marq. Privatl.*² I. p. 218. It is, moreover, a curious fact that Varro himself indirectly supports this etymology; for he derives the masculine form from the same stem. He says, *L. L.* VIII. 451: *alia* [nomina] *a vocabulo ut ab albo Albius, ab atro Atrius*.

4. The Problem of the *Atrium* or the meaning of the word in Classical Latin, by Dr. H. W. Magoun, of Oberlin, O.

The *atrium*, so far as has been noted, is mentioned but twice in Classical Latin, and both passages are in Cicero: *ad Att.* I. 10, 3: *praeterea typos tibi*

membrum, quia in antro atrioque porticus excluditur, et porticus signata duo; and ad Qu. pr. III. 1. 1. 2. 3. quia duo in portibus et antroque atrioque et antroque pr. mihi, ad ista, membra porticibus. Neque enim membra duo trahuntur esse atrium, neque fere solet nunc in his locis hunc formam, sed in portibus et antroque atrioque, nec habere poterat adiuncta circuli et quadrati membra. The word also occurs in an inscription, a few times in the LXX., and occasionally in the writers of mediæval times; but these passages do not materially affect the question. Both of the citations occur in the Letters, and it may perhaps be inferred that the usage was colloquial. It appears from Cicero's words that the room was adorned with figures on the walls; had a *pictura circuli*, etc., and was in short very similar to an ordinary *atrium*. The natural inference is that it was merely a second *atrium* of smaller size than the first. Mennif concludes Beck, *Gall.* p. 253, that it served as "an antechamber to a greater hall, *peristylum* with a *porticus*," and that the *atriola* "were only to be found in large mansions." Marquardt finds in Fluv. *Ep.* II. 17, an explanation of their character, and his position is accepted by Gölz Beck, *Gall.* II. p. 246, as sound. He assumes *Primitiven L. Röm.* I. p. 22, n. 4, that the O-shaped *porticus* with their included *area* formed the *peristylum* of Fluv's villa, and that the *cavaedium hylare* must have been identical with the *atriolum* which Q. Cicero wished to join on to the *porticus*. (This notion that the O-shaped porticoes formed the *peristylum* was suggested as early as 1832, Lib. of Entertaining Knowl., *Pompeii*, II. p. 8, footnote, issued by Soc. for Diffus. of Use. Knowl., and the suggestion seems plausible except that *peristyla* were regularly rectangular in shape, or at least their sides were straight. According to Vitruvius, VI. 4, they should be a third part longer than wide, and be placed transversely.) The resulting villa, if Marquardt be followed, would be of a very unusual construction: first, an *atrium* with its *vestibulum*; then, a *peristylum* whose *area* was very small, *parvula*, "a little bit of a one"; next, a small *atrium*; and behind this, a *triclinium* or *oculus*. Nothing of the sort appears to have been found, and it is doubtful whether it ever will be; for an interior *atrium*, where there is an exterior one, seems to be an anomaly, and an *atriolum* is merely a small *atrium*. Of the twelve conjectural plans of the villa, which I have been fortunate enough to collect (Scamozzi, 1715; Felibien des Avaux, 1690; Castell, 1728; Marquez, 1796; Hirt, 1827; Haudebourg, 1838; Schinkel, 1841; Bouchet, 1852; Burn [after Hirt], 1871; Cowan, 1889; Winnefeld, 1891; and Magoun, 1894) not a single one can be regarded as favoring the view of Marquardt; for in no case is the *cavaedium* represented as smaller than the *atrium*, which it must be, to be the *atriolum* (cf. Cicero's statement), and four, including the two latest, regard the *cavaedium hylare* as a *peristylum*. Now it appears that there were porticoes in villas besides those in the *peristylum*; for Vitruvius, in giving the arrangement of a country villa, says, VI. 8: *ruri autem pseudourbanis statim peristyllia, deinde tunc atria habentia circum porticus pavimentatas spectantes ad palaestras et ambulaciones.* Moreover, in the passage from Cicero upon which Marquardt bases his theory, no *peristylum* is mentioned. In fact the word does not occur in either epistle; but in the preceding section he says: *villa mihi valde placuit, propterea quod summam dignitatem pavimentata porticus habebat*; and again, in the other passage just preceding the citation above, he says: *Signa nostra . . . velim imponas, et si quod aliud oiketov . . . reperies, et maxime, quæ tibi palaestras gymnastique videbuntur esse. Etenim ibi sedans hæc ad te scribe-*

bam, ut me locus ipse admoneret. The conclusion seems plain that Cicero and Vitruvius refer to the same *porticus* (both *pavimentatae*), and, if so, the supposition of Marquardt falls to the ground; for the *porticus* in question had nothing to do with the *peristylum*, which was entirely distinct, and lay, according to Vitruvius, next the entrance, *i.e.* in the place of the *atrium*, which in turn took the place of the *peristylum*. The D-shaped *porticus* of Pliny may perhaps have stood in some such relationship to the *atrium* (the whole arrangement is apparently old-fashioned, and does not correspond to the rules of Vitruvius, who puts the *peristylum* first, as has been said), in which case the *peristylum* still remains to be accounted for, and should be in the position assigned to the *cavaedium*. It is probable that it was identical with it, as I have elsewhere endeavored briefly to show (*Proc. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, Dec., 1894, p. xxxiv f.). It is hardly to be supposed that a villa would be erected in which both styles of building were combined; that is too modern; and, if the new style were followed (*peristylum* first), and then a second *atrium* were added later as a sort of vestibule (he mentions the *vestibulum* distinctly, and a few have supposed that he uses the term as synonymous with *atrium*), it would be natural to suppose that this would be the *atriolum* rather than the one in the interior of the house (cf. Cicero's statement again). It seems more reasonable to believe that both *atrium* and *atriolum* should be banished to the rear, where that form of construction was used, and that both should be in the front part of the house when the regular form was retained, as must frequently have been the case. Two *atria* in one house were common enough to judge from Pompeii; but there they both opened upon a street. So far as I can discover, no interior room of this description has been found. It has been supposed that two *atria* in one building resulted from the purchase of an adjoining house which was then partially torn down and united with the first (cf. Cic., *De Of.* I. 39); but it also held by Mau (*Marq. Privat.*² I. p. 221, n. 1) that two *atria* were sometimes built in a single dwelling intentionally, and the position seems reasonable. How, then, were the two distinguished in ordinary speech? At Pompeii, they lie side by side as a rule, though the house of Lucretius has its second *atrium* in a sort of aisle opening on a side street; each has its *cubicula*, etc., and one is always larger and apparently finer than the other. The *peristylum* generally lies beyond, and commonly extends along the inner end of the larger and a part of that of the smaller, though it sometimes lies between the two next the street, as in the house of Castor and Pollux (house of the Quaestor), which seems, however, to have been a double house. One *atrium*, the larger, seems to have been intended for clients; the other, for slaves and freedmen, though it may possibly have been part of a *hospitium*. What could be more natural than to suppose that the larger, with which the *tablinum* is regularly connected, was the *atrium*, properly so called, while the other was the *atriolum*, 'the little atrium'? Some such distinction seems inevitable, and it would apparently soon be easy to associate, in common speech, the term *atriolum* with a simple, plain *atrium* of small size, since the smaller of the two at Pompeii appears to have commonly been of this character. It often happened also that it was built in the Tuscan fashion, while the larger, or *atrium maius*, was tetrastyle or Corinthian in its construction; at least that is the case in several instances at Pompeii. Here then is the solution of the riddle, and Cicero says in effect that it is not customary to place an *atriolum* in houses [of the wealthy] unless they also con-

tain an *atrium maius*, or *atrium* properly so called; for the *atria* of men of Cicero's standing had become very fine in his day (cf. Cic. *In Ver.* I. 23 and 56), and to him and to his family an *atrium* of the common sort would be merely an *atriolum*. It is probable, therefore, that there is nothing strange or peculiar in the question at all. The *atriolum* was the smaller of the two *atria* often found; Cicero had two *atria* in his villa; and Quintus, having none (cf. villa of Diomedes at Pompeii), talked of putting a little one (the space was small) into his. (The *porticus* may have been arranged somewhat as the *cryptoporticus* in the villa or Diomedes at Pompeii was; see Guhl and Koner, *L. of G. and R.* p. 373.) He was then gently told by his brother that it was not good form to do so, unless he also had one worthy of his position in life (cf. Vit. VI. 8); for that is practically what is meant by the implication that it would not be in good taste to have an inferior *atrium* (*atriolum*) unless there was also a main *atrium* (*atrium maius*), with which was connected the *tablinum*. When the position of the wealthy Romans of Cicero's day is remembered and the part which their elegant *atria* and *tablina* played in the politics of the time (cf. *ibid.*), it can readily be seen that to omit the fine *atrium* and insert a plain small one, would be regarded by them much as we should regard the plan of building an aisle and omitting the main house.

5. The Origin of the μ form of $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ in Greek MS., by Dr. W. N. Bates, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The development of the forms of the letters used in Greek minuscule writing is as a rule not very difficult to trace. The letters for the most part do not differ very greatly in form from the same letters written in capitals, so that the connection between the two either reveals itself at a glance or becomes apparent after a few moments of study. With one letter, however, such is not the case. I refer to the peculiar form of $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ found in Greek manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries which resembles our letter μ printed in italics. This character has no resemblance to the early capital B or to the later minuscule β and yet was the prevailing character for $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ for several centuries. It is the object of this paper to show how this form of the letter originated.

In the various works on Greek palaeography little or nothing is said about this form. Most of the writers simply record it without making any attempt at explanation. Wattenbach¹ and Gardthausen² have made attempts to explain the form but the absence of evidence at the time when they wrote made their attempts at explanation little more than guess-work. In the Herondas papyrus, however, which was published in 1892, there are some interesting forms of $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ which make it possible to supply the missing links and show how the form developed. Including the fragments the letter $\beta\eta\tau\alpha$ occurs in this manuscript 140 times, and in 117 of these cases the letter is perfectly clear. The forms vary greatly and are apparently used promiscuously, no one form being used alone in any one portion of the work. I have arranged them in what appears to be in a general way their order of development from the capital B. The figures in parenthesis

¹ *Anleitung zur Griechischen Palaeographie*, 2d edition, p. 30.

² *Griechische Palaeographie*, p. 184.

denote the number of times each form occurs; only letters which are perfectly distinct are counted. They are:—

1. **B** (12); 2. **B** or **B** (9); 3. **B** (4); 4. **B** (16); 5. **D** (12); 6. **B** (4); 7. **B** (4); 8. **D** (10); 9. **B** (4); 10. **D** (27); 11. **B** (10); 12. **B** (5).

Numbers 8, 9, and 10 are closely related forms. No. 9 is simply a variation of No. 8, and No. 10 differs from No. 8 in having the two down-strokes start from two points side by side instead of from a single point. In No. 3 and more clearly in all the following forms we find the principle which explains how the *u* form originated. The scribe is trying to make a *βῆτα* in two down-strokes. No. 11, and still more plainly No. 12, is nothing more or less than the *u* of the minuscule alphabet, No. 12 being an exact counterpart of the earliest form of the letter in parchment manuscripts. Previous to the discovery of the Herondas papyrus no example of this form appears to have been known earlier than the sixth century. It is now proved to have been in use at least as early as the third century of our era and no doubt continued to be used along with the capital form until in the seventh century it began to be the prevailing one.

The reason for the adoption of such a form is apparent. On papyrus a down-stroke of the pen is much easier to make than an up-stroke, and the attempts of the scribes to make a *βῆτα* rapidly in two down-strokes resulted in the forms shown above. When the change in writing material was made from papyrus to parchment there was no longer the same need of a letter which could be made with two down-strokes, but this form had become established and passed into minuscule writing with the other letters of the alphabet. The fact that in the earliest minuscule manuscripts this letter had twice the height of the other letters seems to show that its origin had not at that time been forgotten and that the right-hand part of the character was still felt to represent the right-hand part of capital B.

The five examples of **B** as *βῆτα* in the Herondas papyrus occur in column 18, line 2; column 22, line 18; column 27, line 14; column 30, line 5; column 37, line 16.

6. Notes on Lucian, by Professor Francis G. Allinson, of Brown University.

1. Lucian, *Timon*, § 18: ὥσπερ ἐκ κοφίνου τετραπλημένον. The edd.¹ find this hard to explain. If *κοφίνου* be retained, may it not be here used in the rare sense of a liquid measure (see ad Strattis *Kin.* 1)? This interpretation has not before been suggested, possibly because the meaning 'basket' is so much the more usual one. It seems probable, however, that Lucian wrote *κοσκίνου*. The reference to the jar of the Danaids immediately follows and it is probable that Lucian had the conventional imagery of the myth in mind as we find it in Plato, *Gorgias*, 493 B, where the Danaids carry the water in a perforated sieve to a perforated jar. Cf. the account *Rep.* 363 D, where also the sieve is used to *carry*. Lucian would thus have here the sieve (*κόσκινον*) as well as the jar (*πίθος*), both of which

¹ e.g. Hemst. Vol. I. p. 374: "vix ac ne vix quidem intelligo." Williams, pp. 211, 212: "to this notion (i.e. of a liquid) 'basket' is abhorrent." Mackie, p. 113: "κόφινος = πίθος = a *tyb* (sic!) with a hole in it."

are necessary to complete the figure. For the combination with this verb cf. his *κοσκινηδὸν διατετρυνήσθαι*, *Sat. Epist.* 24. For the variant ptc. from *τετραλνω* and *τρυνάω*, cf. the parallel pass. *Dial. Inf.* 11, § 4. Compare this, in fact, throughout with Plato. Finally, as an indication that Plato's words were in Lucian's mind, cf. *στεγανόν* of the *Gorgias* with *μὴ στέγοντος* in the *Timon* and *στέγειν οὐ δυναμένου* in the citation from *Dial. Inf.*

The interchange of *κ* and *φ* is obviously easy.

2. Gallus, § 22: *ὑπερβὰς τὸ θριγκίον ἢ διορύξας τὸν τοῖχον*. The *τοιχωρύχος* is a familiar acquaintance, but what does *ὑπερβὰς* etc., mean? Were the houses of the rich constructed with sloping roofs and openings under the eaves, or above the wall, corresponding to the enclosed metopae of a temple?

The two well-known Euripidean passages may be compared.

In *I. T.* 113, Pylades points out that there is room for a man to let down his body between the triglyphs, and in *Orest.* 1371 a slave escapes by one of these apertures.

Unless reference is here made to some such opening, — usual, perhaps, for the sake of the light, — the alternative meaning would seem to be an entrance effected through the tiles or opening of the flat roof itself. Cf. N. T. Luke 19.

The translation, 'lorica domus superata' (Reitz-Hemst.) assumes that τὸ *θριγκίον* was a parapet built around a flat roof. But would not Lucian have used some less vague expression, such as *διὰ τῶν κεράμων*, or *διὰ τῆς στέγης*, if this had been his meaning?

Hermann (*Lehrbuch d. griech. Antiq.* IV. p. 154, note 2) says: "der Giebelbau des Tempels ist ohne vorgängige private Bauweise nicht denkbar." This passage also may indicate that the slanting roof was not monopolized by temple architecture.

3. Icaromenippus, § 13: *ἐπὶ τῆς καπνοδόκης*, 'over (or 'at') my smoke-vent.' Reitz's translation, 'in fumario,' is, I think, clearly wrong. Pauly does better: 'unter meinem Rauchfange ein Trankopfer darbringen.' But why not take not only *καπνοδόκη* but also the preposition in the most literal sense and give a more burlesque, and therefore more probable, coloring? Icaromenippus promises that, alighting on his roof, he will pour a libation over (*ἐπὶ*, not 'unter') the smoke-hole, that it may be wafted up to Empedocles.

To illustrate cf. the two passages in Herodotus where *καπνοδόκη* is mentioned. In VIII. 137, the sunlight streams in *κατὰ τὴν καπνοδόκην* (evidently here a mere hole in the roof). In IV. 113, *ἐπὶ* with the gen., Lucian's exact expression, is used. Herod. here represents the Taurians as transfixing their enemies' heads upon a pole and setting them up on their house-tops and by preference over the smoke-vent — *μάλιστα' ἐπὶ τῆς καπνοδόκης*. Lucian could not have missed this passage in Herodotus.

In Icaromenip. § 25, Zeus seats himself at one of the scuttles (*ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης*) in heaven's floor and bends over it to catch the incense. To illustrate this and the whole meaning of *καπνοδόκη*, one could wish for the context in Pherec. *Tyrannus*, 2, where Zeus out of thoughtfulness for the 'altar loungers' 'made for them a very large smoke-vent.'

However the much-debated chimney-question, Ar. *Vespae*, 139 sqq., may be decided, it would not interfere with this view. Even if a real chimney be understood here, the translation 'over the smoke-vent' would, I believe, be the best; the burlesque element is in either case the same.

4. Use of *δρι μη*. In *οὐδὲν γὰρ δρι μη*, *Somnium*, § 9, *δρι μη* means 'nothing but,' and *Icaromenip.* § 9, 'nothing else.'

Williams¹ annotates these two passages as instances of Lucian's careless use of *μη* for *οὐ*, and refers to Professor Gildersleeve's article, *A. J. P.* Vol. I. 1. Heitland² also, although stating that *δρι* is here the neuter of *δρις*, says: "It will be noticed that the *μη* is, as often in Lucian, unbearable." This use of *δρι μη* (= 'except') is expressly mentioned by Gildersleeve (l.c.) as 'well known and legitimate,' and is used as partially explaining the extension of the combination elsewhere. In addition to the examples of this use of *δρι μη*, cited from Homer, Herod., Thuc., Plato, and Arrian, in L. and S. (*vide sub δρι* (neut. *δρις*) II.), may be added (from Abicht's Herod.) Herod. II. 13 and 50, and (see La Roche, *II. XVI. 227*) Herod. I. 183, III. 155 and 160; Thuc. IV. 94. 2, VII. 42. 6.

Lucian may, therefore, be here relieved of the charge of being 'unbearable.'

5. The Arrangement of Guests in Lucian's Symposium (see the plan on p. xiv). Reitz³ and Wieland⁴ assume the triclinium arrangement. A careful reading of the text will contradict this assumption, and the accompanying plan is intended to meet the conditions in the text, viz.: (1) In § 8 Lucian says: "On the right as you entered, the women—and they were there in full force—took up all that bench, and among them the bride," etc.

(2) §§ 8, 9. "On the side over against the door the rest of the company, each according to his rank. And first, *beginning opposite the women*, Eucritus," etc. [Twelve banqueters are here named.]

(3) These twelve with Dionicus and Alcidas, who arrive later, are the only men expressly mentioned, and Reitz and Wieland in their arrangement assume that there were no more. Certain expressions, however, imply that there were other guests in the company. Cf. § 6. "Why should I tell you of the others? It is chiefly about the philosophers, I think, and the litterateurs that you want to hear." Again, in § 35, Lucian clearly implies that there were others besides the philosophers when he says: "The laymen (*οἱ ἰδιῶται*) dined in a very orderly fashion." The single candelabrum (*τὸ λυχνιον*)—which in § 46 is overturned, leaving the company in utter darkness—may, however, seem to forbid the assumption of any large number of guests, and the seeming contradiction involved in *φῶτα εἰσεκεκῆμστο* (§ 15) is to be explained as a reference to the separate lamps placed on the several trays of the large holder.

(4) The uninvited cynic Alcidas is urged by the host to take a chair by Nos. 11 and 12.

(5) Dionicus the last comer, although invited, had no place reserved for him after the signal to lie down was given. He therefore squeezes in (§ 20) near, or next to, No. 12.

(6) From direct mention (§ 38) we learn that each pair of banqueters had a separate small table.

¹ C. R. Williams, *Selections from Lucian*, John Allyn, 1882.

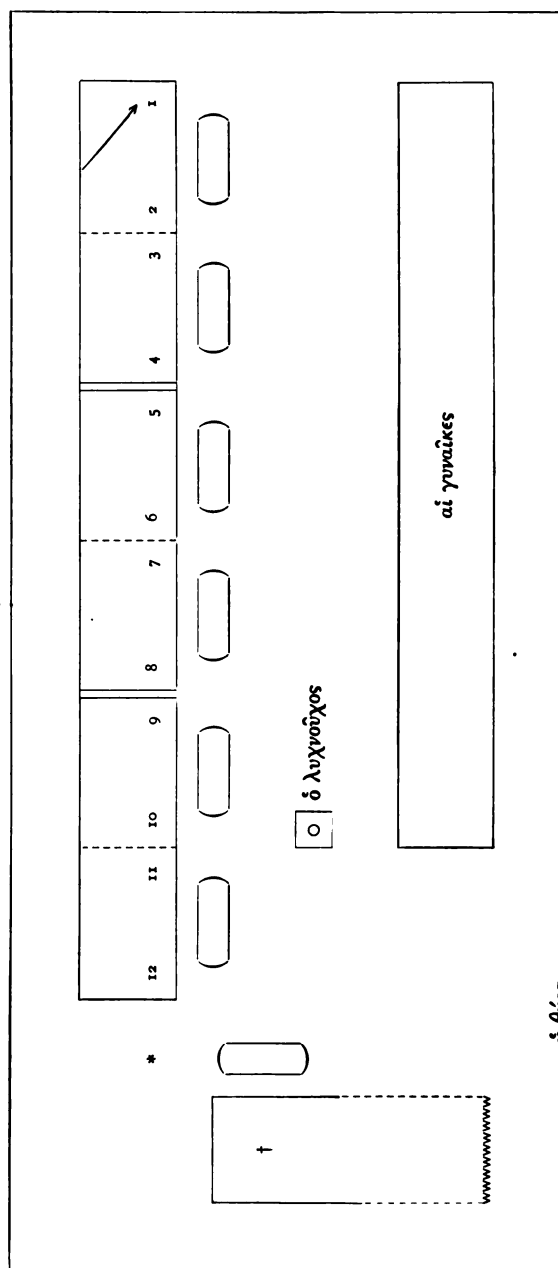
² W. E. Heitland, *Somnium*, etc., Cambr. Un. Press, 1885.

³ Cf. Vol. IX. p. 359, where, too, he speaks of Histiaeus and Dionysodorus as lying 'in tertio lecto ultimi.' This would imply that there were no other banqueters beyond: but see below (3).

⁴ Wieland says: 'Jeder von diesen Triclinien hatte seinen eigenen Tisch,' but we know from the text that there were six small tables for the twelve male guests first mentioned.

PROPOSED PLAN FOR LUCIAN'S SYMPOSIUM.

τὸ ἀντίθυρον



ἡ θύρα

1. Eucritus. 3. Zenothemis. 5. Cleodemus. 7. ὁ νυμφίος. 9. Diphilus. 11. Dionsodorus.
 2. Aristaeus. 4. Hermon. 6. Ion. 8. Lucian. 10. Zenon. 12. Histiaeus.

* ? place proposed to Alcidas for ὁ θρόνος.

† ? ἄλλοι τινὲς συμπόται.

(7) The couch or bench on which all the women sat together is called (§ 8) a κλιντήρ. In § 44 the same word is used of the couch apparently on the opposite side of the room, where Hermon sends Diphilus head-foremost ἀπὸ τοῦ κλιντήρος. κλίνη, however, is used (§ 47) where the Cynic throws himself in a drunken sleep ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης. Cf. ὀμόκλινοι, Hdt. IX. 16.

Only some such arrangement as that here proposed can meet the requirements of the text. The question of the length of the couches and whether they were placed closely together or continued on around the left-hand end of the room must, I think, be left open.

In regard to the place of honor¹ a word may be said. The rich old father of the bridegroom — the guest of honor — lies first of all and next above the host — thus combining two of the points mentioned by Plutarch (*Quest. Sympos.* II. § 4 and III.). The bridegroom, too, might be regarded perhaps as in one of Plutarch's places of honor. He comes *μεγαλτατος* so far as the twelve guests ranged along τὸ ἀντίθρονον are concerned. Becker, or the reviser (*Charik.*, Göll's revision, 1877, Germ. ed. Vol. II. p. 305), makes a curiously vague or inaccurate statement. He says: "Auch bei Lucian (*Conv.* 9) liegt der Bräutigam neben dem Schwiegervater und Wirth." As a matter of fact he lies (No. 7) five places below them.

7. A Study in the History of German Metrics, by Professor Julius Goebel, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

I. *Accent.* Among the German grammarians of the sixteenth century who made the first attempt at a scientific inquiry into the nature of German versification, Johann Clajus (1535-92) takes the principal place. In his *Grammatica Germanicae linguae* (1578) he devotes two chapters to German metrics in which he exhibits a clear understanding of the vital differences in verse-structure that separate the Germanic languages from the ancient tongues. Besides, he defines in the same chapters with remarkable precision the law upon which the metrics of all the Germanic languages are based: the law of accent. While the critical efforts of Clajus produced little effect upon contemporary German versifiers, the little book by Martin Opitz, *Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624), also marked an epoch in the history of German metrics. In the seventh chapter of this famous book he says: —

'Nachmals ist auch ein jeder Vers entweder ein Iambicus oder Trochaicus; nicht zwar, dass wir auf Art der Griechen und Römer eine gewisse Grösse der Sylben können in acht nehmen, sondern, dass wir aus den Accenten und dem Thone erkennen, welche Sylbe hoch und welche niedrig gesetzt soll werden.'

It seems that Opitz in establishing this fundamental fact concerning German metrics did not know of Clajus. Nor is there any evidence of the influence of Opitz on Friedrich von Spee, who, in the preface to his *Trutznachtigall* (written previous to 1635), makes the same discovery of the law of accent in German versification. Spee goes even beyond Opitz and approaches the modern view by claiming that the accent of the verse must be that of the living speech. 'Die

¹ Jowett's trans. of ἔσχατον, in Plato's *Symposium*, as 'at the end of the table' is infelicitous for other reasons and possibly misleading to the English reader acquainted only with the Roman arrangement of the tables.

Quantität aber, das ist die Länge und Kürzte der Syllaben ist gemeinlich vom Accent genommen, also dass diejenigen Syllaben, auf welche in *gemeiner Aussprache* der Accent fällt, für lang gerechnet seind und die andre für kurz.'

For more than a century the influence of Opitz's book made itself felt in a great regularity of German versification, a regularity too painfully regular for the genius of the German language. The negative result of Opitz's rules—that verses constructed after the principle of quantity were impossible in the German language—found, however, less attention than one would expect from poets and the writers on metrics. This becomes evident especially during the eighteenth century when the revival of Humanism kindled the desire of imitating the much-admired Greek metres. Happily the great poets like Klopstock, Goethe, and Schiller were possessed of too fine a feeling for the genius of their language to allow themselves to be ruled entirely by metrical law-makers like Joh. Heinrich Voss. Still we can notice in their metrical practice a constant struggle between their German *Sprachgefühl* and the rigid requirements of the classical metricians. We have an amusing document of this in the famous strophe by Goethe:—

Ein ewiges Kochen statt fröhlichem Schmauss!
Was soll denn das Zählen, das Wägen, das Grollen?
Bei allem dem kommt nichts heraus,
Als dass wir keine Hexameter machen sollen,
Und sollen uns patriotisch fügen,
An Knittelversen uns begnügen.

In 1832 Lachmann's famous essay, *Ueber althochdeutsche Betonung und Verskunst* was published, a treatise which, by a careful inquiry into the nature of accent, laid the foundation for all the future investigations of Germanic metrics. Starting from the fact that in all the Germanic dialects the principal accent is placed on the first syllable of every word, Lachmann establishes the following laws of accentuation:—

(1) Wenn in drei- oder mehrsilbigen Wörtern des Alt- und Mittelhochdeutschen die erste, d. h. die betonteste Silbe lang ist, so hat die zweite den nächsthohen Accent; (2) ist dagegen die erste kurz, so hat die dritte den Nebenton.

Although later investigations modified and corrected these laws, by their discovery, Lachmann was enabled to unfold the secrets of Old-Germanic versification, especially in Otfrid and in the *Hildebrandslied*. Starting from the verse of Otfrid, Lachmann pointed out that the Old Germanic verse consisted of four arses or accents, showed why the thesis in certain cases could be omitted, and, by a careful examination of the various parts of speech, established the rules which governed the position of the accent. An excellent account of Lachmann's principles, supplemented by original research and subtle metrical observations, may be found in the *Deutsche Verskunst nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* by Vilmar-Grein (1870).

While Lachmann had confined himself chiefly to the *word-accent*, Max Rieger in his essay *Die Alt- und Angelsächsische Verskunst* (*Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil.* Vol. 7) made the *sentence-accent* and its relation to Germanic versification the object of his investigations, reaching the result that alliterative verse had but two and not four accents.

II. *Rhythm.* The importance of rhythm for Germanic versification was not recognized by the writers on metrics during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Our knowledge of the nature of rhythm and its relation to metrics has a history like that of the accent. The first attempt at a scientific treatment of rhythm in German versification I believe is found in the *Zeitmessung der deutschen Sprache* (1802) by the same Joh. H. Voss, who must be considered the strictest advocate of ancient metrics in German versification. In the chapter *Vom Verse* (p. 170) he says: —

Der gemessene Gang des Verses, worin eine Folge ausdrucksvoller Bewegungen zu einem harmonischen Ganzen sich vereinigt, *muss für sich ohne Worte gedacht werden.* . . . Ein Versmass also oder ein Metrum heisst uns eine rhythmische Composition der man zutreffende Worte unterlegt.

A revolution was caused in the history of German versification, when, in 1870, R. Westphal published his *Theorie der neuhochdeutschen Metrik*. Proudly he could say in the preface of the first edition: Bisher sind die rhythmischen Formen der deutschen Poesie noch in kein System gebracht. Selbst den Begriff des Verses zu bestimmen hat bisher unserer Aesthetik nicht gelingen wollen.

He begins his discussion with a careful analysis of rhythm, the nature of which he finds in motion (Bewegung), and which he defines as the order of time in which this equally measured motion takes place. While his predecessors had always treated of single feet, of verses composed of feet, and strophes composed of verses, Westphal discards these terms by saying: —

Wollen wir uns über unsere Metrik wirklich ins Klare bringen, so dürfen wir nicht mehr mit den drei Kategorien: Versfüsse, Verszeilen, Strophen operiren, sondern mit folgenden viere: mit Tacten, mit rhythmischen Reihen oder Gliedern, mit Perioden, mit Strophen.

Westphal's theories were in their essential features verified and supplemented by Brücke in his little book *Die physiologischen Grundlagen der neuhochdeutschen Verskunst* (1871). For the history of rhythm the chapter on *Versaccent* (p. 5) in Brücke's book is especially interesting, for it is here that he makes the discovery of the change of rhythm in the same verse or strophe. He says: der Wechsel des Rhythmus in einem und demselben Systeme der Versification ist nicht nur erlaubt, sondern häufig sogar geboten und Niemand wird z. B. Anstoss daran nehmen, dass in den folgenden Trochäen zuerst der Ictus auf der ersten Arsis der Dipodie liegt, dann aber ein Wechsel eintritt, so dass der Ictus bei sachgemäsem Vortrage auf die zweite Arsis der Dipodie fällt: —

Keine hat wie ich im Herzen
Immerdar dein Bild getragen,
Eine Braut war ich im Geiste,
Wars in Wonne, wars in Thränen.

Brücke's fundamental discovery was soon afterwards applied to German lyric poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by W. Brambach in his excellent little pamphlet *Ueber die Betonungsweise in der deutschen Lyrik* (1871). Brambach shows that without the various changes of rhythm, the rhythmic construction of the German lyrics of the last five centuries cannot be understood, saying: es haben sich Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Anordnung der Hebungen bis in unsere

klassische Zeit erhalten, welche ihrem Ursprung nach auf die Technik des Versbaues im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, und weiter ins Mittelalter zurückgehen. Auch unsere klassischen Dichter gestatten noch eine zweifache Accentrückung: erstens unterbrechen sie die Folge von Hebung und Senkung durch einfache Umkehr, es wird z. B. eine trochäische Betonung eingemischt, wo das Accentschema eine jambische verlangen würde, zweitens *rücken sie Hebungen an einander ohne die entsprechende Senkung einzulegen.*

The influence of these theories and discoveries concerning rhythm beginning with Westphal, may also be noticed in the famous recent attempt of Sievers, which aims at a systematization of the rhythmic forms of old Germanic alliterative poetry (cf. Sievers' *Altgermanische Metrik*). Sievers' theory is known as the *Typentheorie*, or the theory of certain types of rhythm which he claims to have discovered for the first time. I believe that I am in the position to show that the various forms or 'types' of rhythm, named A, B, C, D, E by Sievers, were already known to Lachmann, as is made evident by the latter's accentuation of the verses of the *Hildebrandslied*, from which I quote below, giving at the same time Sievers' accentuation of the same verses.

LACHMANN.	Type A.	SIEVERS.
áltê joh frôtê		álte ante frôte
úmmeť spáhêr		úmmeť spáhêr
	Type B.	
er was hêrôro mán		her was hêrôro mán
dat was sô friuntlaos mán		dat was sô friuntlaos mán
	Type C.	
ïro sáro rihtun		iro sáro rihtun
ibu dû dâr ênic réht habês		ibu dû dâr êntc réht habês
	Type D.	
súnufatarungòs		súnufatarungo
séolídantê		séolídante
	Type E.	
Héribrantès súnú		Héribrantès súnú

To be sure, Lachmann does not speak of these various forms of rhythm, nor does he anywhere attempt to systematize them, but he evidently had them in mind when he said in the essay on the *Hildebrandslied* (cf. *Kleinere Schriften*, I. 414): So entsteht bei sehr strengem Rhythmus eine grosse Mannigfaltigkeit der Betonungen; zwei bis vier höchst betonte Silben auf Hebungen, und, sind ihrer nur zwei oder drei, noch zwei oder eine ebenfalls starke Hebung, ferner vier schwächere Betonungen auf den übrigen Hebungen, alle diese Betonungen in *willkürlicher Ordnung*.

I will add in conclusion, that previous to Sievers the various forms or 'types' of rhythm in the alliterative verse had been systematized by Grein in the *Deutsche Verskunst* (1870) quoted above. He says in § 18: Bei zwei Haupthebungen

sind es die erste und dritte (Type A) oder die erste und vierte (Type E) oder die zweite und vierte (Type B) oder endlich die zweite und dritte Hebung (Type C); and in § 20 he adds: das zunächst aus Otfrid erkannte Gesetz für die Stellung der Haupthebungen (§ 18) gilt aber ebenso auch für die althochdeutsche Alliterationspoesie.

8. An Important Side of Aristophanes' Criticism of Euripides,¹ by Professor H. Rushton Fairclough, of the Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Aristophanes' most concentrated criticism of Euripides occurs in the *Frogs*, where he makes Aeschylus recite parodies upon the choral songs and melodies of the younger poet.² According to the commentators the following points are to be noticed in the parodies: (1) The general confusion of the scenes; (2) the trivial objects and circumstances; (3) the misuse of rhetorical figures; (4) the unnecessary repetitions; (5) metrical and musical innovations.

These additional features, however, should be observed: (a) The prominence given to the sights and sounds of external nature, e.g. vines and grapes; the sea, rivers, and *dewy*³ water; the halcyons chattering, the spiders spinning, and the dolphin at his gambles. In Euripides the botanical world plays a much larger part than in Aeschylus or Sophocles. He revels in meadows and grassy glades, forests and groves, fruits and flowers, and some of his plays, like the *Bacchae*, *Ion*, and *Phoenissae*, are permeated with the beauties of hill and field and dale. More varied and abundant, too, are his references to birds, insects, and animals, wild and domestic,⁴ and in some of these allusions he displays a peculiar tenderness.⁵ More conspicuous, too, in him are streams and rivers, which are often invested with considerable sentimental interest.

(b) The invocation and the characterizations of night (ll. 1331, 1335, 1337). Some of the most beautiful characterizations of night and day to be found in all Greek literature are in Euripides.⁶ Picturesque night scenes are also frequent.⁷

(c) A reference to Euripides' fondness for various expressions for darkness⁸ and light.

(d) A hit at Euripides' fondness for color (*v. πρῶραις κυανεμβόλοις*, l. 1318). Euripides indulges in more frequent references to color and has a wider range of color-vocabulary than either Aeschylus or Sophocles. He is fond, too, of contrasting different hues.⁹

¹ This paper will appear in full as a chapter in *The Attitude of the Greek Tragedians toward Nature*, published by Rowsell and Hutchison, Toronto, Canada.

² *Ran.* 1301 ff.

³ *δρόσος* of water is very common in Euripides.

⁴ His allusions to the horse, cow, dog, and sheep are nearly twice as frequent as those of Aeschylus and Sophocles together.

⁵ Cf. *Ion* 179, *El.* 151, *Iph. T.* 1089, *Tro.* 669, etc.

⁶ *Tro.* 847, *Ion* 1150, *Fr.* 593, *El.* 54, *Or.* 174.

⁷ *Rhes.* 41-3, *Tro.* 543, 547, *Alc.* 450, *Iph. Aul.* 6.

⁸ *v. κνεφαίος*, l. 1350. Besides *κνεφαίος* (found once in Aesch. *Pr.* 1029), Euripides has also used *λυγαίος*, *γνοφώδης*, *ἀμβλώπες αὐγαί*, *ἀμβλυωπός*, *ζοφερός*, and *ἀμολγὸν νύκτα*, expressions not found in Aesch. or Sophocles. On the other hand, Euripides is even more lavish than Sophocles in his use of terms that denote brilliance and splendor, and he has a wider vocabulary.

⁹ Cf. *Iph. Aul.* 222-5, *Herac.* 855, *Cy.* 16, *Hec.* 151, *H. F.* 361, 573, *Hel.* 179, 1501.

The sentimentalism, therefore, for which Aristophanes assails Euripides consists largely in a proneness to minute and toying descriptions of external nature. Euripides lived at a time when the old Greek spirit was giving way to the new, and men were becoming more reflective and introspective. There were also peculiarities in Euripides' own life and circumstances which must have largely affected his tone and character. He was a recluse, of artistic sensibilities and wedded to books. Hence his sentimentalism.

The Greeks were not a sentimental people, but had a practical, common-sense, objective way of looking at things. Aristophanes, a man of the world, regarded the new spirit as unnatural and unmanly, and though he himself appreciated keenly the beauties of nature, he did not regard tragedy as a fitting vehicle for the expression of such sentiments.

The most romantic of Euripides' plays, the *Bacchae*, — a drama which exhibits a deep love for nature, — was composed amid the wilds of Macedonia, where the poet's spirit had free range and the emotions were unchecked in expression by the sneers of hostile critics. The *Bacchae* and the *Frogs* have much in common, and no doubt Aristophanes had learnt much of the character of the *Bacchae* before that play was exhibited in Athens.

The Secretary then read an invitation to a reception on Wednesday, July 8, extended to the Association by Professor and Mrs. Albert Harkness. The invitation was accepted.

The Committee, consisting of Professors Allen, Gudeman, and Platner, which was appointed to report a recommendation concerning a uniform standard of Latin Orthography for the use of School Text-books, then reported through its chairman, Professor Allen.

Discussion of the report was postponed.

Adjourned at 6.10 P.M.

EVENING SESSION.

At eight o'clock the members, together with a large number of the citizens of Providence, assembled in the Lyman gymnasium to listen to the address of Professor March, the President of the Association.¹

The speaker was introduced by Professor Albert Harkness, of Brown University, who welcomed the Association on the occasion of its second meeting at Providence.

9. The Filological Study of Literature, by Professor Francis A. March, of Lafayette College, President of the Association.

¹ In recognition of his distinguished contributions to the study of language, Professor March was elected at the last meeting (see PROCEEDINGS, Vol. XXVI., p. liv) to a second term of service as President. Professor March was one of the founders of the Association, and its President in 1873-74.

The speaker referred to and commented on filological studies of literature, mostly found in the publications of the Association, belonging to the following classes.

STUDIES FOR THE ACCUMULATION OF SCIENTIFIC DATA.

1. The enumeration and classification of the words in literary masterpieces according to the grammatical forms; as, so many hundred subjunctives, or conjunctions, and the like.
2. Similar studies of the historical etymology; as, so many Anglo-Saxon words, so many Norman, and the like.
3. The once-used words.
4. The oft-used words.
5. The words used for the first time.
6. Words of sensation, for colors, sounds, and the like, to build up the world of a story as it appeared to the author.
7. Accumulation of descriptives applied to a natural object, as the ocean, the sun, and the like.
8. Studies of syntax, classification and enumeration of the different kinds of sentences, periods, paragraphs, in a literary work.
9. Studies of rhythm and meter; classification and counting up to establish authorship, as in Shakespeare and Homer.

STUDIES OF INTERPRETATION.

10. Of simple sentences as gems of thought. (a) To clear up the precise meaning of the words; (b) to gather up the accumulated associations of the vital words.
11. Of the whole utterances of characters in pictures of life, as of Hamlet, Caliban, to realize the characters.
12. Of the whole works of an author, to realize his character and his environment.
13. Of the literature of a nation to read the character of the nation.
14. The comparative study of national literatures to learn the character of man, his best, his worst.

Most of these essays are naturally works of curious investigation and research. The scholars who produce them labor harder on books for simple utility, learned editions of important literary works, concordances, grammars, and dictionaries. Child's *Ballads*, Furness's *Shakespeare*, Abbott's *Shakespearean Grammar*, Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*, Murray's *Historical Dictionary of the English Language*, — the greatest filological work of our generation, — bring the filological labors of hundreds of investigators within easy reach of all students of literature and language.

The dictionary of English dialects, the first number of which is just printed at Oxford, is another great work for the science of language. The complete concordance and dictionary of Chaucer, which the Early English Text Society has been so many years cherishing, is at last ready in manuscript, a more valuable work than even the *Shakespeare Dictionary*. The next thing is to get it printed. We shall soon have the opportunity to make our subscriptions for it.

The filological study of literature seems next in honor to the creation of literature. There are times of ebb in the tide of creative power.

"Nature endures not the expense
Of multiplying the immense."

Then the interpreters have their day. They bring home to their generation the inspiring thought of earlier ages. Their great books, their great institutions of learning, preserve the world from lapsing into barbarism.

MORNING SESSION.

PROVIDENCE, July 8, 1896.

The Association reassembled at 10.10 A.M.

The President appointed the following committees:

On Auditing the Treasurer's Report: Professor Albert Harkness and Dr. Sewall.
On Time and Place of Meeting in 1897: Professors C. L. Smith, Lodge, Clapp.
On Officers for 1896-1897: Professors Allen, Seymour, Owen.

Professor Allen then explained the Report on Latin Orthography. After discussion it was moved to print a summary of the Report in the Proceedings.

The chairman gave the Committee's reasons for confining its report to School Text-books proper, — the grammars, lesson-books, and elementary editions which serve for the first introduction to the study of Latin. In such books, if anywhere, a conventional standard of orthography may be desirable. The authors first put before young pupils are Caesar, Cicero, Vergil — perhaps also Sallust and Cornelius Nepos. All are writers of the end of the Republic or of the first years of the Augustan age. The Committee thought it wholly impracticable — for the present at least — to print these authors, for learners, in the spelling of their own times, as exemplified in such inscriptions as the *Lex Julia Municipalis*, and the *Lex Rubria* (45 and 49 B.C.), and the newly discovered inscription relating to the Secular Games of 17 B.C. It was shown that this would necessarily involve not only such forms as *quoius*, *quoi*, *equos*, *relinquunt*, *aestumo*, but also *servei* in the nominative plural, and *serveis* in the dative and ablative plural. Although the latest of the above-named inscriptions, cut two years after Vergil's death, no longer adheres strictly to this use of *ei*, still we have reason, it was urged, to suppose that Vergil's own spelling was more conservative than that of this inscription. The report then proceeded as follows: —

Your Committee is clear that, as a standard for elementary books, it is best to adhere to the tolerably uniform system of the first century of our era, and that in particular the spelling of the Monumentum Ancyranum — thought by Mommsen to be that of Augustus himself — may well be to us a sort of pattern, so far as it goes. This system is, in truth, only a little later than that which we have been describing. We shall then write *servi* in the nominative plural, *serveis* in the dative and ablative plural; *optimus*, *aestimo*, *lacrima*; *cuius*, *cui*, *cum*; *vultus*

and *servus*. As regards the most crucial point—the use of *uu*, *vu*—it should be said that this spelling did not prevail all at once. From Quintilian¹ it appears that *uo*, *vo* were affected by conservative schoolmasters as late as the middle of the first century, and this statement is borne out by inscriptions—for instance by the laws of Malaca and Salpensa in Spain, from Domitian's time, in which *divom*, *vacuom*, etc., occur. We should then have warrant for *vollus* and *servos*. Nevertheless it is certain from the Monumentum Ancyranum² that *uu*, *vu* were in good use early in the century, and the practical advantage of having uniform endings, *-us* and *-um*, is so great that it should turn the scale in favor of this spelling. A middle course—*vollus*, *volnus*, but *parvus*, *perpetuus*—which we find pursued in several recent schoolbooks, seems to have no historical justification.

It is more difficult to decide what to do with *-quu-*, as in *equus*, *reliquus*, *sequuntur*. It chances that no words involving this combination occur in the Monumentum Ancyranum. Brambach believed *equus* to be of equal age and respectability with *divus*, and thought that its adoption, as part and parcel of the standard orthography of the Empire, was necessary. He was obliged, however, to except *quum* and *quur*, as non-existent forms, and he was unable to deny the correctness of the spelling with *-cu-* (*ecus*, *secuntur*) in the other words concerned. Notwithstanding Brambach's defence, *-quu-* has fallen into much disfavor among Latinists, and, as your Committee incline to think, with justice. The combination is of the rarest occurrence in inscriptions of any period. Newer and more careful researches have made it probable that it was never much else than a theory of grammarians, who sought to remove an apparent irregularity in the paradigms of inflexion. We may refer to the discussions of Stolz (*Histor. Gramm.* I. p. 254), and of Lindsay (*Latin Language*, p. 86 f.), both based on Bersu's collections.³ There seems to be little doubt that *-quo-* passed, in the course of the Augustan period, into *-cu-* (sometimes written *-qu-*⁴), but never into *-quu-*. The Committee accordingly think that *ecus*, *relicus*, *secuntur*, *relincunt*, parallel to *cum*, *cui*, *cuius*, are the best forms for our elementary books. In like manner *exstingunt* will be the third person plural of *exstinguo*. It will, of course, be necessary to provide in our grammars for this replacement of *-quu-* by *-cu-*, but this does not seem difficult to do.

Respecting the assimilation of prepositions, it is clear that no hard and fast rules can be laid down, and that a wooden uniformity would not represent ancient usage. The Monumentum Ancyranum has *conlegium* and *collegium*, *impensa* and *inpensarum*, *immortalis* and *inmissa*. The inscription about the Secular Games has similar doublets. There is room to doubt whether *ef-* for *ex-* (*effugere*, *efficere*) was in use at the time of Augustus' death. At any rate there are significant traces of *ecferre* and the like in the manuscripts of both Cicero and Vergil. But the evidence is not clear enough to warrant a reversal of the customary spelling. It is hard to know what to recommend about *ob*, *ab*, *sub* before *s* and *t*. Yet there can be little doubt that the usage of the early first

¹ I. 7. 26.

² *annuum*, *riuum*, *vivus*.

³ P. Bersu, *Die Gutturalen*, etc., Berlin, 1885. The pivotal point of disagreement between Brambach and Bersu is the testimony of the grammarian Probus. See Bersu, p. 63.

⁴ So often in the older MSS. of Vergil; *egus* M, Geo. III. 499; *loquntur* MR, Aen. I. 731. See Ribbeck, *Proleg.* p. 442.

century is exemplified in *apsens* of the Monumentum Ancyranum, and that the grammarians' fad which introduced *absens*, *obtineo*, etc., against the actual pronunciation,¹ was not known at that time, and on the whole we are inclined to recommend the adoption of *-ps-*, *-st-* in these compounds.

The Committee furthermore suggests the use of the contracted genitives *conlegi*, *fluvi*, etc., the avoidance of final *t* for *d* (*set*, *haut*, *aput*, etc.), and the sparing use of *ch*, *th*, *ph* in Latin words (it will perhaps be safest to restrict this to the four words named by Cicero as those in which he gave way to the inroads of secondary aspiration).² *Incohare* should be so spelled. This word occurs in the Monumentum Ancyranum. We may add that the above recommendations require little break with current usage as shown in the most carefully prepared text-books.

A word is perhaps desirable respecting the accusative plural of the third declension. Otto Keller, in his second volume *Zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte* has given us a fresh discussion of this subject, with full statistics of the occurrence, in inscriptions and manuscripts, of the endings *-es* and *-is*. From these statistics he deduces, for adjectives and participles,³ the rule that *-is* is the only proper form for all words, whether original *i*-stems or not, which have *-ium* in the genitive plural, and *-es* the proper form for those which have *-um* in the genitive plural. This rule he considers applicable to the Augustan poets and the prose-writers of the Republic. The encroachment of *-es* upon *-is* he believes to have begun in the Augustan period, but he thinks that the poets, at least the older poets of this period, were not affected by it. The Monumentum Ancyranum, however, shows evident traces of this encroachment; it has *labentes*, *omnes* side by side with *agentis*, *omnis*. In view of these facts, the Committee feel some uncertainty; but bearing in mind the advantages of a fixed usage, we recommend, with some diffidence, conformity to Keller's rule, at least so far as adjectives and participles are concerned.

Respecting another question of some practical importance, the use of *j* and *v*, the Committee are unable to make an unanimous recommendation. One member is in favor of discarding both these modern devices, and accustoming the learner from the outset to distinguish *i* and *u* consonant from *i* and *u* vowel as Roman boys were obliged to — by sense and surroundings. Another thinks that a system which fails to differentiate *voluit* from *voluit* is too hard for the beginner, but he dislikes *j* and *v*, as tending to fix and perpetuate the notion that the Romans had separate letters for vowel and consonant, and would like to see in use *i* and *u* with some diacritical mark, which might be dropped in all but the most elementary books. A third member of the Committee would adopt *i* for *j*, but would continue to distinguish *v* and *u* by separate letters. This use of *v* without *j* has been resorted to in a number of recent schoolbooks. The inconsistency has this practical justification, that the difficulty of distinguishing vowel and consonant is greater with *u* than with *i*.

¹ Quintil. I. 7, 7.

² *Orator*, 48, 160.

³ In substantives *-es* is more prevalent, and the rule does not always hold. The most that Keller asserts is that all which have (or can have) *-i* in the ablative singular, either have or can have *-is* in the accusative plural. Substantives in *-x* have *-es*. For many individual nouns, however (as *ardis*, *finis*, *hostis*, *turris*, *mons*, *gens*, *pars*, etc.), Keller allows only the accus plur in *-is*. The Monumentum Ancyranum has, it may be observed, *aces*, *fines*, and *gentes*.

10. The Origin of Sigma lunatum, by Professor John H. Wright, of Harvard University.

This paper is printed in full in the Transactions. It was discussed by Professors Smyth, Allen, and by the author.

11. A Discussion of Catullus LXII. 39-58,¹ by Dr. Charles Knapp, of Barnard College.

The author's purpose was to show that in vv. 45 and 56 *dum . . . dum* are correlatives, to be interpreted as literally = "the while . . . the while," i.e. as equivalent to *quam diu . . . tam diu*. This view is not new, having been held by Quintilian (ix. 3. 16), Haupt, Riese, Baehrens, Schmalz, and Hale. Its rejection, however, by such recent editors as Ellis and Merrill justifies a new examination of the whole passage. Further, the author claims to have supported the old view by a line of argument never before brought to bear on our passage.

Strong exception was taken to the method adopted by both Ellis and Merrill in their attempts to interpret this passage. Both seek to determine the text and the reading of v. 45 by an appeal to v. 56. This the author held to be a complete reversal of the proper method. He came thus to the statement of his main point, which was that more attention must be paid to the *form* of the poem than has been accorded to it by recent editors. Several scholars — e.g. Ellis, Riese, and Baehrens — call attention to the amoebean character of the poem, but none of them makes adequate use of this point in its criticism and interpretation. Attention was then called to the fundamental law of amoebean poetry, namely, that the utterances of the second speaker should correspond in form and contents to those of the first. See Conington's introductions to Vergil's third, seventh, and eighth Eclogues, and Page's prefatory note to Horace, C. iii. 9. In *Ecl.* iii. the amoebean dialogue covers 48 vv., each competitor delivering twelve strains of two vv. each; in *Ecl.* vii. we again have 48 vv., divided into twelve strains of four vv. each. Every one knows how admirably Horace obeyed the law in the poem referred to.

The author then asked, How far did Catullus obey the law in this poem? The *carmen amoebeum* proper consists of vv. 20-59. Originally there were three pairs of stanzas. The second of these is now mutilated beyond recovery; only six vv. (32-37) remain. We may therefore leave this portion entirely out of the discussion. The first strophe and antistrophe contain five vv. each, besides the refrain; no trace of incompleteness can be discovered. The third strophe and antistrophe originally contained, it is probable, ten vv. each, besides the refrain. See Riese and Baehrens on v. 41. We may conjecture, therefore, with much probability, that in the matter of form this *carmen amoebeum* obeyed the first law of such compositions.

Turning to the language, we note at once striking correspondences between the several strophes and antistrophes. In vv. 20-24 the girls say, "How cruel thou art, Hesperus, to tear the maiden from her mother." The lads reply (26-30), "How kind thou art, Hesperus, to give the maiden to her lover." Each utterance consists of three sentences: a question in one v., a relative clause in

¹ See *Classical Review*, X. 365.

three vv., and a second question in the concluding v. These final questions are clearly examples of amoebean "tit for tat." In our passage (39-58) the strophe (39-47) forms a single sentence, composed of two clauses correlated by *ut* and *sic*. Each clause falls into two parts, with adversative asyndeton at the joints, i.e. at vv. 43 and 46. In the antistrophe (49-58) the structure is the same, save that in v. 54 the conjunction is expressed. (See further, Carl Ziwsa, *Die eurhythmische Technik des Catullus*, II. Theil, pp. 11, 12, Wien, 1883.) These resemblances in the language strengthen the hypothesis accepted above, that in external form there was originally complete correspondence between the parts of the song.

The author dwelt thus on the amoebean character of the poem because on that he rested his special line of argument. His points were: (1) We have here a good specimen of the carmen amoebaeum; (2) the law of such carmina is that the leader sets the pace to which the other must conform; (3) here the girls lead; and hence (4) their utterances must in each case be perfectly intelligible, when taken by themselves. At v. 49 the lads were bound to reply to the girls; they were bound, furthermore, to do this in ten vv., and the form of their deliverance must be as like as possible to that of the girls. It is self-evident that to accomplish this task at all it was necessary for them to understand in every detail what the girls had said. So in our reading of the poem we must put ourselves in the position of the lads by interpreting vv. 39-47 by themselves, and then we must apply the same line of interpretation to vv. 49-58.

The author then proceeded to analyze vv. 39-47. Vv. 39-44 he paraphrased thus: *Dum flos intactus est, carus est pueris et puellis; sed cum tactus est, non carus est*, etc. When one reads *sic* in v. 45, his natural expectation is that the correlating clause will itself be broken into two parts, corresponding exactly to those of the *ut*-clause. These can readily be found, since *dum intacta (virgo) manet* = *dum flos intactus est* of our paraphrase, and *dum cara suis est*, if taken as Quint. interprets it, is a complete correlative to *carus est flos*, etc. Again, v. 46, which = *sed cum virgo tacta est*, corresponds exactly to v. 43, which = *sed cum flos tactus est*, and v. 47, which = *virgo non cara est pueris et puellis*, is correlative to v. 44, which = *flos non carus est*, etc. If this stanza be interpreted by itself, its parts can be arranged in no other way. The beauty and flawlessness of the poet's workmanship are then self-evident.

The author then presented his objections to the views of Ellis and Merrill. The former says: "Sic may well contain the predicate *optata est* implied in the protasis of the simile," etc. A sufficient answer is the fact that the protasis of the simile contains not merely *optata est*, but *non optata est* as well. If, then, *est* be supplied at all after *sic*, we must take as its predicate the whole contents of the protasis, not a part, as Ellis has done. The same argument disposes of Merrill's view, which is thus expressed: "The two *dum*-clauses are not correlative, but co-ordinate, both modifying SIC VIRGO (sc. *est*), while SIC is emphatic, referring to v. 42. Thus v. 45 corresponds alone to vv. 39-42, while vv. 46-47 correspond to vv. 43-44." *Sic* must refer not to v. 42 alone, but to all that is contained in vv. 39-44, and the predicate to *est* must, as already urged, be the whole contents of those six vv. Thus, v. 45 would correspond, not to vv. 39-42 alone, as Merrill would have us believe, but to all the vv. 39-44. In that event vv. 46-47 would be wholly unnecessary and therefore weak, and the perfect artistic balance which we obtained before would be wholly destroyed.

We may now without trouble apply the same line of interpretation to vv. 49-58. We may paraphrase again: *Dum vitis intacta est, non cara est; sed cum tacta est, cara est.* This is balanced by *Dum virgo intacta est, non cara est; sed cum tacta est, cara est.* V. 56 means simply: "So the maiden, the while she remains *intacta*, the while she grows old uncared for."

The paper closed with a brief consideration of the question whether *dum* . . . *dum* could bear the meaning assigned them throughout the discussion. On this point the author had nothing new to offer, but contented himself with compiling, more completely than has heretofore been done, a list of the authorities by whom this view has been defended and illustrated. Quint. ix. 3. 16 explicitly upholds it, implying that it is an archaism, a very plausible suggestion. The only parallel thus far cited is Pl. *Truc.* 232, where Lambinus' reading *Dum habeat, dum amet* is "accepted or repeated by Hand, C. F. W. Müller, Fleckeisen, Schwabe, Schöll, and Key, L. D., s.v." (Ellis, p. 248, footnote). See also Haupt, *Opusc.* II., p. 473; Riese and Baehrens in their editions; Schmalz in Müller's *Handbuch*, II², p. 509; Hale, *Anticipatory Subjunctive*, pp. 68, 69; and finally the critical note in the Goetz-Loewe-Schöll edition of the *Truculentus*. Both Riese and Baehrens cite by way of illustration Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 42 *Ut vidi, ut perii*, referring to Savelsberg, *Rhein. Mus.* XXVI. (1871), p. 135, the latter adding Corssen, *De pronunt.* II², p. 856. See, however, Conington ad loc. For similar usages in Greek, see Ellis on v. 45, and Haupt, *Opusc.* II., pp. 471-473.

This paper was commented on by Professors E. T. Merrill, C. L. Smith, Allen, and by the author.

12. Superstitions and Popular Beliefs in Greek Tragedy, by Dr. Ernst Riess, of Norwalk, Conn.

This paper appears in full in the Transactions. It was discussed by Dr. H. W. Magoun, and by the author in reply.

13. Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 42, by Professor Francis Kingsley Ball, of the University of North Carolina.

δείξω δὲ Θησεὶ πρᾶγμα, κακφανήσεται.

The plot of the *Hippolytus* is set forth in the prologue by Aphrodite: Those who do her homage she puts first in honor; but she throws down all who act presumptuously toward her (5, 6); Hippolytus declares that she is basest of deities, and will pay her no regard (13, 14); she means to be revenged upon him (21, 22).

Her plan of revenge she proceeds to explain. Phaedra, the [second] wife of Theseus, is deeply in love with Hippolytus through Aphrodite's designs (26-28). This shall be made the means of accomplishing her purpose (41: ἀλλ' οὐτὶ ταύτῃ τὸνδ' ἔρωτα χρὴ περεῖν). But how? Why, Theseus shall be informed of the affair, and he will curse Hippolytus and put him to death (42-44). But be informed of what affair? Certainly Theseus will not kill his son because Phaedra is enamored of him.

Wecklein explains that the verse is general in its signification (the matter shall be made public; and I will see that it reaches the ears of Theseus).

Mahaffy and Bury follow Wecklein, and say further, "Euripides does not add that it was to be represented in a false light, for his prologue is only to give a sketch of the plot, not to enter closely into the details." Wilamowitz says that the uninformed hearer can expect nothing from these verses but the guilt of Hippolytus. Wilamowitz, however, is not entirely right. If we join his note with that of Mahaffy and Bury, we shall arrive at what ought to be the conclusion drawn by the uninformed hearer or reader, namely, that either Hippolytus does wrong or his father is misinformed, the latter of which proves to be the truth. Doubt as to the outcome of the play ought to begin, really, with verse 41, where Aphrodite proposes to make use of Phaedra's infatuation as a means of destroying Hippolytus.

Hiller and others object to the verse on the ground that it is contradictory to the issue of the play: Aphrodite does not reveal to Theseus the love of Phaedra for Hippolytus.

To remove the apparent contradiction, Weil suggests the reading *δείξει δεήσει πῶγμα*. Other readings proposed are as follows: *ἐς φῶς δὲ δείξω πῶγμα* (Barthold); *ἡδὲ δὲ δείξω πῶγμα* (Fecht); *δείξω δ' ὁ λήθει πῶγμα* (von Arnim); and, perhaps the most noteworthy, that of Wilamowitz, *δείξω δὲ Θησέως παιδί, κἀκφανήσεται*. Wilamowitz points out that Aphrodite states what takes place immediately and at the end of the play, but leaves out the middle part, namely, the aversion of Hippolytus and the slandering of his character by Phaedra.

On the other hand, we have, in favor of the MSS. reading, the following considerations:—

1. The reading *δείξω δὲ Θησεῖ* has the support of all the MSS. without any variant.

2. The meaning is not really inconsistent with the development of the play.

It is true, as has been objected, that it is Artemis who reveals to Theseus the love of Phaedra for Hippolytus. But is this what is referred to in verse 42? Not at all. Verses 41-44, though obscure, have but one explanation, as is shown by the development of the plot. "I will use Phaedra's infatuation," says Aphrodite, "to overthrow Hippolytus. Theseus shall hear of the affair (*πῶγμα*), and he will curse and destroy my foe." Let us follow, now, the development of her plan: Phaedra at first concealed her love for Hippolytus (394), but finally revealed it to her nurse (350-52); the nurse informs Hippolytus, and is reviled by him (565-90); Phaedra, now that her love has been revealed (596), wishes to die (599), and hangs herself (777); Theseus finds a letter on Phaedra's person (856), in which she accuses Hippolytus (874-86); Theseus bids Hippolytus begone from the country (973); Hippolytus' death is reported (1162); Artemis informs Theseus of the innocence of Hippolytus (1298, 1299) and of the infatuation of Phaedra (1303).

It is clear, then, that the prologue is not really inconsistent with the development of the play, as the information given to Theseus by Artemis is of a sort to clear Hippolytus from censure, while that referred to in the prologue is intended to work his ruin, and reaches Theseus by means of the nurse's revelation to Hippolytus, which causes the writing of the letter and the suicide of Phaedra;—all caused directly or indirectly by Aphrodite, the author of Phaedra's infatuation.

The apparent inconsistency, already referred to, that the prologue does not state exactly what takes place in the play itself, may find a parallel in the *Ion*.

We are informed by Hermes, in the prologue of the *Ion*, that Xuthus and Creusa, being childless, have gone to consult the god at Delphi (64-67); Apollo is to present his own son by Creusa to Xuthus when the latter enters the temple; Xuthus is to take the boy to Athens, where he is to be made known to Creusa and obtain his rights (69-73). The development in the play, however, is as follows: Creusa is greeted by Ion at the shrine at Delphi (237); Xuthus, on returning from the neighboring oracle of Trophonius (405), meets Ion in the temple and greets him as his son (517); an explanation takes place, and Xuthus bids Ion go to Athens (577); the chorus is commanded to reveal nothing to Creusa on a penalty of death (666, 667), but they tell her everything (761 ff.); Creusa wishes to kill Ion, as she thinks herself wronged by Xuthus (979), but her plan fails (1194 ff.); Creusa recognizes Ion by the garment in which he was exposed when an infant (1395 ff.); — the recognition taking place at Delphi, and not at Athens as told in the prologue.

3. The reading *δέλω δὲ Θησεῖ* maintains the line of thought better than any other reading suggested.

Nobody, to my knowledge, disputes the genuineness of verse 44. This verse helps out the MSS. reading in 42. The line of thought is this: "Phaedra loves Hippolytus; this infatuation is good for my purpose; Theseus shall hear of the affair; he will destroy Hippolytus; Phaedra shall die." Theseus is the one to be informed because the one most concerned. When informed, he will kill Hippolytus, — not of course because Phaedra is in love with him, but for one of the reasons given above, namely, that Hippolytus is guilty, or that he believes him guilty.

Suppose we read, with Wilamowitz, *δέλω δὲ Θησέως παιδί*. Then the line of thought is: "Phaedra loves Hippolytus; this is my opportunity; Hippolytus shall know it; his father will kill him; Phaedra shall die." By following the MSS. we are left in doubt as to the real cause of Hippolytus' death; but by following Wilamowitz we can arrive at only one conclusion, and that erroneous, the guilt of Hippolytus. Furthermore, Aphrodite does not give the information to Hippolytus any more than she gives it to Theseus. To both it comes indirectly — to the one, through the nurse; to the other, through Phaedra's letter.

To conclude: The objections to the reading *δέλω δὲ Θησεῖ πᾶγμα* are not well sustained. I think the reading should be retained, (a) because it has the unanimous support of the MSS.; (b) because it is not really inconsistent with the plot, does not force us to an erroneous conclusion, and may be paralleled in Euripides' own works; (c) because it is suited to the context.

This paper was read, in the author's absence, by Professor Earle, of Bryn Mawr College.

14. One of the Debts of Roman Literature to Early Roman Tragedy, by Professor Karl P. Harrington, of the University of North Carolina.

Although, unhappily, it is quite beyond our power to estimate accurately all the debt of Roman literature to early Roman tragedy, it is clear that the tragedies

of Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, and Accius were quite largely responsible for at least the following effects: 1. The awakening of an interest in Greek literature and the cultivation of literary taste. 2. A dissemination of knowledge of Greek mythology. 3. A metrical revolution. 4. The development of a polished literary standard of forms, syntax, and style, which is rendered more noticeable when compared with the colloquialism of comedy. 5. The enrichment of the language by the coinage of new words.

The purpose of this paper is to determine as far as possible to what extent, and along what lines, the language and literature of Rome were enriched by the word-coinage of these early tragic poets.

The period from Livius Andronicus to Accius was the great formative period of Latin. The Romans were suddenly awakened to the fact that their language was a rough and primitive instrument for the expression of the exact, the delicate, the picturesque idea. The early tragic poets must therefore have been constantly hampered, among other difficulties, by the lack of suitable words with which to convey their finer shades of meaning.

We must acknowledge at the start the limitations within which we are compelled to work. We seldom, if ever, can attain mathematical certainty with regard to the author of a word, and the date of its genesis; for some earlier writer, whose works are lost, may have used it. Moreover, a large proportion of the meagre tragic fragments that we do possess have been preserved to us merely because they contain in each instance some unusual word. Again, the condition of the text sometimes leaves us in doubt.

Having frankly admitted, however, that we may look for only a varying degree of probability in our conclusions, we may take courage from the following facts: 1. The old Latin grammarians frequently leave us no reasonable ground of doubt. 2. A comparison of the original Greek in many cases makes it nearly certain that the word arose then and there as a translation. 3. A large number of words bear on their faces the stamp of mere linguistic experiments that were never imitated. 4. A reasonable regard for the laws of word-derivation in Latin and a constant comparison with what seems to have been taking place in that line in each period of the language will enable us to keep our conjectures from going too wide of the mark.

In the preparation of this paper Ribbeck's collection of the fragments of the tragic writers has been used for the text; but, as a rule, conjectural readings have not been taken into account.

LIVIVS ANDRONICUS.

There are but 42 verses or fragments of his tragic writings extant. Of the 10 words which appear to have more or less claim to be considered the creations of Livius Andronicus, 3 are transliterations from the Greek, 4 are new compounds, 1 is a new form of derivative, and 2 are new adverbs. Not a single one seems to have become very common in the language, and 2 ($\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole number) never occur again. More of the new words are new compounds than are found under any other head. The proportion of new words is nearly one to every four fragments of verses. Two (*simus* and *inhumigo*) seem worthy to have endured.

NAEVIUS.

In the case of Naevius more new words occur in his comedies and his *Bellum Punicum* than in the tragedy fragments; with the former, however, we are not now concerned.

There appear to be about 17 new words in 65 verses, the percentage being but a trifle larger than in Livius Andronicus. Of these, 6 (more than $\frac{1}{3}$) are taken from the Greek, 5 are new compounds (3 of these being of the poetic picturesque type), and the others are new derivatives. Although but one of this list is surely a *ῥαξ λεγόμενον*, most of them seem to have been confined to the ante-classical period, except in so far as they were revived in comparatively late Latin. It is perhaps noteworthy that there are more Greek words in the Campanian Naevius than in the Greek slave Andronicus. It was worth while to use *valentia*, which might well have held its own against the more cumbrous *vale-tudo*; and of course such words as *suavisonum* and *frondifer* deserved to be repeated often by succeeding poets.

ENNIUS.

With Ennius the field of our investigation widens. There remain of his tragedy over 400 verses or fragments. Here the proportion of new words appears to be much smaller than in the two preceding writers, there being but 42, or about 1 in 10. A study of these, however, brings out several points of interest. 1. There are only 2 Greek words in the list. Ennius was too great a poet to borrow his diction extensively from the Greeks. 2. On the other hand, there are about 20 new compounds (about $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole number); there are also several derivative verbs and nouns in *-men* and *-mentum*. 3. The *ῥαξ λεγόμενα* number 7; *signitenens* and *velivolans* are typical poetic descriptive words, such as every true Roman poet in the earlier period coined; *blandiloquentia* and *visceratim* are strong words and deserved the better fate of being incorporated in the permanent body of the language; *obvaro* and *augifico* seem rather needless compounds; but *hariolatio* is a word that has no good equivalent, and could ill be spared. 4. Derivatives like *hostimentum* and *peniculamentum* apparently did not meet with a favorable reception. Compounds in *-ficus* and *-fisco* seem to have been overdone, e.g. in the case of *augifico* and *regifisco*. 5. Quite a number of these words coined by Ennius became the lasting possessions of the language, such as: *exalbesco*, *flammifer*, *velivolus*, *deflagro*, *reciproco*, *regimen*, *inauratus*, *optumates*, *pervicacia*, nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole number. 6. Several more were used by the early poets after him, influencing the whole language through them, and then, falling out of use for awhile, were taken up again in the post-Augustan or post-classical period, such as: *propitiabilis*, *derepente*, *nitido*, *elimino*, *flacceo*, *evisceratus*. 7. Ennius was not conservative in the form of words, as is evidenced by his variant forms in the case of common words. So, for instance, he uses *caementa* (f.), but *caementum* (n.) was the form that endured; similarly *sanguen* for *sanguis*, *veter* for *vetus*; further we find *velivolans* and *velivolus* side by side, the latter of which endured; and *tabum* was added to *tabes*, and both endured. 8. It is not easy to see why such words as *expectoro*, *altisonus*, *scrupeus*, *convestio*, and *conglomerio* should not have cut a more important figure in the later language. 9. If, on the whole, Ennius coined fewer words than might have

been expected from his unique position in Roman literature, his efforts were on sounder lines, and the effect on the language of his successors is discernible at once, particularly in the line of expressive compounds.

PACUVIUS.

The bulk of fragments of the tragedies of Pacuvius is little greater than in the case of Ennius; but the proportion of new words is considerably larger, the total number of 66 being nearly one in 6 verses. Furthermore, we discover at once a marked tendency to experiment with the language, not only on the lines already followed by Ennius, but on others, in some of which none had led, and few would follow.

An examination of the complete list of words brings out the following facts: 1. Only one Greek word occurs. 2. Nine compound adjectives, all the way from the picturesque *tardigradus* to the monstrous *incurvicervicus*, and 6 compound verbs illustrate an increasing tendency. 3. The most striking phenomenon, however, is the appearance among the derivatives of not less than 17 new abstract nouns, 6 ending in *-tas*, 8 in *-tudo*, and 3 in *-or*. These range from the indispensable to the fantastic, from *unanimitas* to *anxitudo*; and remind one of the two periods in the development of the English language (one immediately after Chaucer, the other during the "revival of learning") when it was the fashion to produce such words as 'facundious,' 'pulcritude,' 'consuetude,' 'mulierosity,' 'solertiousness,' etc. Various derivative verbs (some 13 in all) should be added here, especially 4 inceptives. 4. Other words include but 3 adverbs, and do not need especial notice. 5. That Pacuvius was an experimenter who went too far to be cordially and thoroughly imitated is evident at once from the fact that 25 of these 66 new words never occur again. On the other hand, quite a number found a permanent place in the language. Of course Latin did not need *prolixitudo* and *concorditas*; and *gemitudo* and *matresco* were plainly called for only by the occasion. But there was undoubtedly a place for *mollitudo* and *timiditas*, while *bonifer* and *globosus* could hardly be spared from the working force of the language. Although the verse containing the two enormities, *incurvicervicus* and *repandirostrus*, is commonly cited to prove the devotion of Pacuvius to outlandish compounds, a careful search fails to discover good ground for the charge. 6. *Tardigradus* is worthy of Lucretius, and should have endured. The same is true of *macor*, *taetro*, *cornifrons*, and *abjugo*; while *unanimitas*, *largificus*, and *flexaninus* certainly deserved a more extended use than they ever enjoyed. 7. On the whole, the inference can hardly be avoided that the complete works of Pacuvius would doubtless show extensive contributions to the language along the well-established lines of composition and derivation.

ACCIIUS.

In Accius the total number of new words is larger than in any of his predecessors in Roman tragedy; but, the number of verses being about 700, the 78 words do not bring the percentage up so high as was the case in Pacuvius, and not much above that of Ennius. Of those 78 words, 25, or nearly $\frac{1}{3}$, are ἀπὸ λέγόμενα.

Accius evidently followed the general tendencies already observed in Pacuvius.

1. We find no case of borrowing from the Greek except the imitation of *τετραπόλις*, *quadrurbem*. 2. Among new compounds, the adjectives number 6, the verbs 9, and the nouns 2. There is an apparent falling off in the coinage of the picturesque descriptive adjectives; *sonipes* endured as a poetic word; while such compounds as *taurigenus* and *fallaciloquus* were doomed to retirement. But *disicio*, *allido*, *oblittero*, and *eniteo* were valuable acquisitions to the language. Such a noun as *vitisator*, used later by Vergil, is hardly more than an epithet. 3. The craze for new abstracts has not died out yet. There are 12 in *-tas*, and 11 in *-tudo*. *Vastitas*, *crudelitas*, and *stupiditas* were useful additions; *magnitas*, *honestitudo*, and that ilk, are mere doubles of words already in common use; while *noxitudo*, *nitiditas*, and the like, did not secure the stamp of popular approval. Of the derivative verbs the inceptives in *-sco* continue to be the most noteworthy additions; yet most of them died a speedy death. Such formations as *vastesco* and *sanctesco* do not seem in harmony with the genius of the language. There were, however, several useful derivative verbs, like *divito* and *locupletio*. 4. The list of derivative adjectives shows the largest increase of any, including 11 words, of which *exspes*, *fremibundus*, *vorax*, and *præservidus* endured. 5. *Indecorabiliter* is the only new adverb and that a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*. 6. *Appetitio*, *delitor*, *celebresco*, *perfremo*, *tabificabilis*, *orbifico*, and *taetritudo* might well have endured. 7. Accius illustrates pretty well what was to be expected from one who kept up to the mark of word-coinage set down by his immediate predecessors. There are fewer fanciful forms, but a more earnest effort to broaden the language and to give parallel forms to many already existing words. The language did not, however, in most cases, care for doubles of this kind, and hence it is that so large a proportion of his new words perished at once.

In the somewhat more than 1600 fragmentary verses of Roman tragedy we find, accordingly, 213 words which there is more or less reason to consider coined by the tragic writers. Of these, 55 (or a little more than $\frac{1}{3}$) never appear again; and of the rest, a good-sized majority never came into very common use. This fact may appear a little disappointing at first thought, but we have already seen that the conditions under which we study this question are such as to bring the rarest words into special prominence. And even those which did not themselves become a permanent part of the language, exercised an indirect influence that cannot be estimated. Not only did the tragedians set the pace in word-building, but also scores of their new words were accepted and incorporated in the language. It is remarkable, considering the source of this body of dramatic literature, how few Greek words (not over 18 in all the fragments) were borrowed. It indicates a better self-denial and a keener industry than we have sometimes been inclined to credit to these writers. It was rather in the lines of the expressive compound and the timely derivative that we find the tendencies most marked. Probably the least valuable fashion was that of multiplying ponderous abstract nouns, which seem particularly out of place in poetic composition.

Tragedy showed the Romans how to write dignified Latin poetry, combining beauty and feeling, and marked out plainly the line along which the vocabulary of each author should enrich the language in a perfectly rational development. In the main the succeeding Roman writers followed suit. The greatest failure to measure up to the possibilities before them was in the expressive composition of words. Such word-painting as we find in Ennius and Pacuvius might have been

continued by the poets that followed, and extended indefinitely; and geniuses like Lucretius and Catullus made good use of the example. But, as in English, by non-use the facility of such composition was rapidly diminished, and the language lost here much of its flexibility.

Remarks were made by Professor A. G. Harkness and by Dr. Knapp.

Adjourned at 12.45 P.M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Association reassembled at 3.15 P.M.

Professor Albert Harkness reported that the Auditing Committee had examined the account of the Treasurer, compared it with the vouchers and found it correct. The report was adopted.

15. Notes on the *νέκνυα* of Peisandros, Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1553-1564, by Professor B. Perrin, of Yale University.

This is a parody on the *νέκνυα* of Odysseus, full of Homeric reminiscences. The *λιμνη* is the *Ἰκεανός* of κ 508, λ 13, ω 11, and the unwashed Socrates as *ψυχαγωγός* answers to the *Hermes* of ω. Peisandros takes the rôle of Odysseus in λ, and goes down to the confines of Hades to consult his own spirit, not that of Teiresias. As a sacrifice, — the ram and black sheep of Odysseus, Peisandros has a camel-lamb. He sacrifices it, then like Odysseus turns away (*ἀπῆλθε* 1561), when up there comes to him from the lower world — Chairephon the Bat (so called as the spirits of the suitors are compared to bats ω 6 ff.).

In 1561, noting the surprising lack of correspondence with λ 36 ff., commentators almost universally suspect or correct *ἀπῆλθε*. Kock's earlier *καθῆστο*, and his later *κατῆλθε* are fair examples of corrections made to restore correspondence with Homer. But the *ἀπῆλθε* of Aristophanes is faultless in its tradition, whereas λ 35-49 shew clear signs of alteration from an original context which corresponded minutely with κ 526-536, the forerunner-passage. At just the point where the minute correspondence is broken, we find in λ a group of verses to which the Alexandrian critics took exception. They are memorable and faultless verses in themselves, but they are not adapted closely to their present context.

At some point in the tradition of the Homeric poems, probably the time of their committal to writing, the desire to preserve this *ἄνθος* led to its substitution in λ in place of verses corresponding minutely to κ 528-530, where there *is* an expression of which the *ἀπῆλθε* of Aristophanes is a faultless parody.

It is most natural surely that a brilliant parody of the *νέκνυα* of Odysseus should base itself on the main account of that *νέκνυα* rather than on its forerunner-passage, *i.e.* on λ rather than on κ. Either, then, the manuscript of Aristophanes' *Odyssey* had at λ 38 something corresponding to the *ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι* of κ 528, or the oral tradition of the poem, kept vivid by public recitation, had this. We thus get a glimpse of a written or oral status of a famous passage in Homer

which was superior, in point of exact correspondence, to the subsequent vulgate which became the basis for Alexandrian criticism. The Homer of Plato has been shewn to differ in more than mere *minutiae* from this vulgate. In one case, at least, the Homer of Aristophanes so differed. It was probably a long and gradual process by which the vulgate won its ascendancy.

Remarks were made by Professors Gudemann and Elwell, and by the author in reply.

16. Ὡστε in the Orators, with special reference to Isocrates, by W. A. Eckels, of Baltimore.

Professor Gildersleeve (A. J. P. XIV. 241) records his conviction that "it is safe to speak of stylistic effect within the range of Ὡστε," and indicates as a marked source of such effect the use of Ὡστε with or without a preceding correlative (οὕτως, τοιοῦτος, etc.). The same writer (A. J. P. VII. 171) notes Isocrates' effective use of Ὡστε correlative in the construction of long periods. Seume (*De Sententiis Consecutivis Graecis*) speaks of the large use of the Ὡστε sentence in the orators, and its "great oratorical force."

This paper aimed to give a few results of a study undertaken in pursuance of these suggestions, with a view to testing the value of Ὡστε as an index of style in the orators. Only the more general and obvious results could find place in so brief a summary.

Isocrates is an author in whom we especially look for the conscious use of rhetorical effects. The plan of this study has been to compare Isocrates' use of Ὡστε (1) with that of several other orators; (2) in the different classes of Isocratean writings; (3) in different orations of the same class; (4) in different parts of the same oration. The points especially studied have been (1) the use of the moods, (2) the employment or omission of the correlative, and (3) the frequency of occurrence of Ὡστε in general. The conclusion was reached that (3) is of minor importance as a stylistic test, while (2) is of decided value.

Taking the average occurrence of Ὡστε to the Teubner page in six orators, the curve runs thus: Antiphon .28; Lysias .95; Isocrates 1.00; Isaeus .69; Demosthenes .49; Aeschines .30. These results are interesting, but it is not easy to connect them with characteristic differences of style. We should hardly expect, e.g., so close a correspondence in authors differing so widely as Isocrates and Lysias.

But the test of correlation brings out a real difference. In Isocrates, correlative Ὡστε greatly preponderates over non-correlative. In Lysias it falls a little below it. Isoc. correlative : non-correlative :: $2\frac{1}{2}$: 1; Lys. 1 : $1\frac{1}{8}$. Here we seem to have a true norm of style—the free Ὡστε in the simpler, less periodic style of Lysias, the correlative Ὡστε in the more complicated structure of Isocrates. Isaeus marks a further gain for the non-correlative type—cor. 1; non-cor. $1\frac{1}{2}$. The closer "grip" of argument in Isaeus still had need of Ὡστε as a logical instrument; it could better dispense with the rhetorically effective οὕτως—Ὡστε, which was brought into frequent service by the *narrative* of Isocrates and Lysias.¹

¹ The ratio of correlative to non-correlative in the six orators studied stands thus: Ant. 1 : 2 $\frac{3}{4}$; Lys. 1 : $1\frac{1}{8}$; Isoc. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$: 1; Isae. 1 : $1\frac{1}{2}$; Dem. $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1; Aesch. $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1.

Again, compare two works of Isocrates. The *Adv. Euthynum* is a strictly forensic work—close argument, almost devoid of narrative, so concise and plain in style as to be denied to Isocrates by some. The *Helen* is an epideictic speech of the most ornate type, full of flowing periods and involved sentences. In the average of the occurrence of *ᾧστε* they both occupy a high place,—the *Euth.* first of the twenty-one works, the *Helen* sixth. But these *ᾧστε* sentences differ widely in rhetorical effect. Out of 15 cases in the *Euth.*, 12 are of the non-correlative type; and almost all these represent what may be called the “*ᾧστε* of logical inference,”—a sort of “therefore,” introducing an opinion or conclusion. Out of 18 examples in the *Helen*, 16 are of the correlative type—the *οὕτως* often at the head of its clause, giving an effective balance. For the two types, compare *Euth.* 5 and *Hel.* 37.¹ The predominance of these two types in ratios of 4 : 1 and 8 : 1 respectively seems an excellent index to the widely differing styles of these two orations.

Attention was now concentrated on Isocrates, and a table presented showing the average occurrence for each oration, for each class, the number of correlatives and non-correlatives in each oration, and the ratio of correlatives to non-correlatives for each class. The works are classified according to Jebb, thus avoiding any tendency to twist the classification in the interest of a theory. The ratios of correlative to non-correlative for the several classes are as follows: (1) Epideictic, $3\frac{2}{3} : 1$; (2) Philosophical (Essays on Education), $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$; (3) Political, $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$; (4) Forensic, $1\frac{1}{2} : 1$; (5) Hortatory, $1\frac{1}{10} : 1$.

Assuming that the correlative *ᾧστε* is suited to a dignified, elaborate, and consciously rhetorical style, this order of classes is much what we should expect. Epideictic discourse is the natural home of this kind of writing, and the Philosophical and Political, in Isocrates at least, are much tinged with it. Hortatory and Forensic work involve an opposite tendency (on the *γένος δικανικόν*, cf. *Panath.* 1), and are unfriendly to elaborate periods and correlative structure.

The test of correlation was next applied to the individual orations within each department. When we find a work differing widely in its use of *ᾧστε* from the normal usage of its class, we inquire whether it is in other respects abnormal—whether it is a fair representative of that class. In nearly every instance wide departures from type in the use of *ᾧστε* were found to coincide with lack of conformity in other respects. The *Archidamus*, e.g., stands lowest in the Political class in use of the correlative type,—correl. $1\frac{1}{3} : 1$; non-correl. 1, as against $2\frac{1}{2} : 1$ for its class. But this speech was noted by the Pseudo-Longinus as an instance of *προσωποποιία*—feigned speech of another; the speaker is a young man and a Spartan prince. In closeness of argument and earnestness of tone it approaches the forensic class, and recedes furthest from the epideictic coloring which marks the *Arcopagiticus* and *Panegyricus*—orations which stand at the opposite end of this class in respect to correlation, with ratios of correl. $4\frac{1}{2} : 1$; non-correl. 1, and 3 : 1, respectively.

The widest variations in style in any one class are found in the Forensic, and here are seen the widest extremes in the use of *ᾧστε* correlative and non-

¹ *Euth.* 5: Νικίας τοίνυν Εὐθύνου πλείω μὲν ἔχει, ἥττον δὲ δύναται λέγειν· ὥστ' οὐκ ἔστι δι' ὅτι ἂν ἐπὶ ῥῆθι ἀδίκως ἐπ' Εὐθύνον ἐλθεῖν.

Hel. 37: Οὕτω γὰρ νομίμως καὶ καλῶς διώκει τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἵχνος τῆς ἐκείνου πράττης ἐν τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἡμῶν καταλελειφθαι.

correlative. Here, too, the question of genuineness has been oftenest raised. The non-correlative extreme is represented by the *Euthynus*, whose peculiarities have already been noted, and which may be called the "ultra-forensic" specimen of Isocrates' style. At the opposite poles stand the *Trapeiticus* and *De Bigis*. The former was regarded by Benseler as a school exercise; and Dionysius of Halicarnassus lays especial stress on its "epideictic" character. As to the use of *ῥοτε*, it shows a ratio of correl. $3\frac{3}{4}$: non-correl. 1.

The *De Bigis*, ostensibly a court speech, is in effect a glorification of the elder Alcibiades. Jebb notes its "thoroughly epideictic" character. In its use of correlation it stands highest of the Forensic works, and second in the whole Isocratean corpus: — correl. $4\frac{1}{2}$: non-correl. 1.

But the tone is not uniform throughout the whole fragment, and an analysis was here presented showing its composite structure. A speech assigned to one department may show clearly-marked strata of material belonging properly to another. The divisions made were: (1) (secs. 5-21) narrative mixed with argument — the tone partly apologetic; (2) (25-38) pure narrative — bold and unqualified panegyric; (3) (39-50) argument and personal plea. In use of *ῥοτε*, (1) shows correl. 3 : non-correl. 1; in (2) (having 10 examples in all) *every one* is correl.; in (3) all are non-correls. This analysis and the estimate of the stylistic features of the several divisions are closely confirmed by Drerup (*Neu. Jahrb. Suppl.* Bd. 22, h. 2). He concludes that "this oration proves the forensic diction in Isocrates to be different from the epideictic."

An analysis was also made of the *Panegyricus*, one of the longer speeches and one of the most consciously artistic. The sections which are clearly of the epideictic order, — pieces of "fine writing," recounting the ancient achievements of Athens, — aggregating one-half of the speech, show a ratio of correl. to non-correl. of $4\frac{1}{2}$: 1, as against 3 : 1 for the whole work, and $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1 for those portions which could be described as the opposite of epideictic.

Analyses of a number of other orations showed similar results, not always so striking as those presented, but in the main consistent with them and tending to show the stylistic belongings of these two types of *ῥοτε* sentence.

The use of the moods after *ῥοτε* appears not to be, *per se*, an index of style. It is true, *e.g.*, that Lysias has a larger ratio of finite verbs to infinitives than Isocrates, — 2 : 1 as against $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1; but this loses independent significance when we recall the larger use in Lysias of the non-correlative type of *ῥοτε* sentence; for in this type the finite verb, for obvious reasons, almost crowds out the infinitive. To get at the separate value of the mood test, we ought to eliminate the factor of correlation, *i.e.* compare the use of moods within each type. The differences are found to be very slight. In non-correlative examples we find that the ratio of finite verbs to infinitives is as 3 : 1 for Lysias, $3\frac{3}{4}$: 1 for Isocrates. In correlative examples, Lysias has 7 finite : 6 infinitives; Isocrates, 11 : 9. So, in different speeches and parts of speeches of these authors, so long as we study the correlative and non-correlative types separately, statistics of the moods have no story to tell of a difference in style. That the use of the finite verb is not a mark of *negligentia*, its preponderance in Isocrates would seem to show with sufficient clearness. The fact comes out still more clearly in a comparison of Isocrates and Xenophon. In Isocrates finite verbs stand to infinitives as $1\frac{1}{2}$: 1; in Xenophon, as $1\frac{1}{4}$: 1 (according to Wehmann's figures).

17. Plato's Studies in Greek Literature, by Carleton L. Brownson, of Yale University.

External evidence regarding Plato's literary tastes and studies is not wanting, but it is far less adequate and trustworthy than the internal evidence. It is the latter, therefore, which the present paper aims to collect and analyze, considering first, the comments which are to be found in Plato's dialogues upon poetry and the poets, and second, his citations from the works of poets of his own age and of the earlier centuries. The few famous passages, however, which condemn so sternly the moral teachings of Homer, Hesiod, and the dramatists are reserved to be the subject of a later paper.

I. Plato regards the poets as the earliest sages of Greece, "our fathers and leaders in wisdom" (*Lys.* 214 A.), their mission corresponding to that of the philosophers in later times (cf. *Prot.* 316 D., *Theat.* 152 E.). They differ, however, from the philosophers in that their wisdom is the product of inspiration, not of reason. This difference is everywhere (e.g. *Apol.* 22 C., *Ion* 533 D. ff., *Leg.* 719 C.) strongly insisted upon, as marking the superiority of the philosopher. In general, Plato sometimes speaks kindly of the poet (cf. especially *Symp.* 209 A. ff., *Phaedr.* 245 A.), but more often slightlying. He is one of the unnecessary additions to a state (*Rep.* 373 B.), his aim is merely to flatter and give pleasure (*Gorg.* 501 ff.), and he is rated among the very lowest as regards his comprehension of truth (*Phaedr.* 248 D.).

Plato has nevertheless made the art of the poet a subject of careful study. This is shown by the well-known passage (*Rep.* 392 D. ff.), in which he marks the boundaries between the various types of poetry. The first lines of the *Iliad* are referred to as illustrating a combination of the narrative and mimetic methods. Change the direct to indirect discourse, and the result is simple narrative; or drop the lines which intervene between the speeches, and we have tragedy. It follows, then, that poetry may be either simple narrative or imitation or a combination of both. Clearly Plato is here preparing the foundation upon which Aristotle builds in the *Poetics*, while at the same time making it evident that he might himself have reared the superstructure.

Plato also proves by very frequent allusions his full knowledge of everything pertaining to the art of the dramatist. Not only does he resort to the theatre for illustrations and comparisons in almost all the dialogues, but he employs in at least two instances (*Symp.* 194 B., *Rep.* 373 B.) technical expressions of the playwright which are found nowhere else in classic Greek literature.

II. Plato's references to individual poets and his citations from their works are so numerous that they can only be treated in the most cursory manner. Even the earliest, half mythical bards of Greece — Amphion, Marsyas, Olympus, Orpheus, Musaeus, Eumolpus, Thamyris — are all known to him. Orpheus, indeed, is directly quoted in several instances. Coming to the more real names of later times, we find Plato gleaning over the entire field of Greek literature. In all his citations he is seeking primarily such passages as will serve his purpose in philosophical argument, either by way of proof or of illustration. This fact explains why he cites Theognis more often than Sappho, and Euripides more often than Sophocles. On the other hand, he often quotes what seems to him false or injurious doctrine in order to refute it, while again, laying aside any utili-

tarian motive, he simply yields to the natural impulse of the widely read man of letters. Plato seldom suggests, even by a word, his opinion of the poet from whom he is quoting. Only to Homer does he award an unstinted measure of praise, to Hesiod the lesser honor which constant association with Homer reflects upon him.

Among the writers of elegiac verse, Plato quotes more or less frequently from Tyrtaeus, Solon, Phocylides, and Theognis. Archilochus, the iambic poet, is not quoted, but is mentioned with honor. The lyric poets, excepting Pindar and Simonides, receive rather scant attention. Plato has not transcribed a line from Sappho, Alcaeus, or Anacreon. Simonides, however, is quoted in several dialogues, being even thought worthy to furnish a theme for discussion to such men as Socrates and Protagoras. From Pindar we have no less than eleven citations in almost as many dialogues, a fact which must be taken as showing how highly Plato regarded the Theban poet.

Among the comedians Plato has rather a wide acquaintance. He either quotes or alludes to Epicharmus, Pherecrates, Eupolis, Plato Comicus, and Aristophanes. On the other hand, it is very noticeable that he neither mentions nor quotes a single tragedian except the three great masters and Agathon. Euripides, the most quotable of the three, is quoted rather more frequently than Aeschylus, *i.e.* the former in eleven instances, the latter in nine. Euripides is also referred to in at least two passages (*Rep.* 568 A., *Phaedr.* 268 C.) as a representative tragedian. Sophocles, strange to say, is almost ignored. He is not once mentioned by name as the author of a single quotation, and only once (*Symp.* 196 C.) can we be entirely sure that Plato is quoting from him. This fact has given rise to the supposition that the philosopher cherished some ill feeling towards Sophocles. Such a supposition is rendered entirely improbable by a consideration of the two passages in Plato (*Rep.* 329 B.C., *Phaedr.* 268 C.D.) in which Sophocles is mentioned by name.

Epic poetry to Plato is comprised in the works of Homer and Hesiod. The cyclic poets are not so much as mentioned. Only once (*Euthyphro* 12 A.B.) two verses are cited which the scholiast ascribes to the *Cypria*. Hesiod is directly quoted fourteen times in eight dialogues. But one of these quotations is from the *Theogony*, the rest from the *Works and Days*. The references to the poet are comparatively numerous and, as has been suggested, for the most part complimentary. Nevertheless Plato seems to have been less thoroughly acquainted with Hesiod than with any other great poet. The most inexact quotation in all the dialogues (*Rep.* 469 A., *Crat.* 397 E.) is one from the *Works and Days*, while on the other hand two passages in the *Cratylus* (396 C., 402 B.) show that Plato was entirely unfamiliar with the *Theogony*.

Coming now to Homer, we find that Plato quotes from the *Iliad* 77, from the *Odyssey* 35 times. The total number of quotations, therefore, is 112, of lines quoted 212. From all other poets cited we have a total of about 170 lines in about 75 quotations. Further, apart from direct quotations or general allusions, Plato refers to individual Homeric lines or passages 77 times. He either quotes or refers to passages in 23 books of the *Iliad* and 18 of the *Odyssey*, 41 in all out of 48; and some Homeric quotation or reference is found in all the dialogues which Christ (*Griech. Literaturgesch.*, p. 376 ff.) classes as genuine except two—the *Parmenides* and *Critias*. The *Republic* contains rather more than a third of the total number of citations.



The first question suggested by an examination of Plato's citations from Homer is, how correctly does he quote? This question has been recently treated by Prof. G. E. Howes,¹ who finds that Plato is in general remarkably true to his text of Homer, and that apparent mistakes cannot fairly be charged to his ignorance or carelessness. A few further points may be stated which make the case even stronger for Plato. First, in at least two-thirds of his quotations it is certain or altogether probable that he either gives us the exact words of his text or changes them only in so far as the structure of his sentence requires. Second, only two cases can be found where it even seems that he has quoted the same Homeric verse differently in different passages (Z 211 in *Soph.* 268 D., *Rep.* 547 A.; and κ 495 in *Rep.* 386 D. and *Meno* 100 A.). The variants are in the one instance *τοι* and *τῆς*, in the other *αι* and *ταί*. Surely such differences as these are more probably to be charged to copyists than to Plato. Third, Plato perfectly understands every line which he quotes, perfectly appreciates the spirit of Homer, and continually reveals a boundless reserve fund of knowledge. In truth "*Plato kannte seinen Homer vortrefflich.*"²

Did he then quote from memory? Such a supposition seems to offer the only possible explanation for two well-known passages (379 D., 408 A.) in the *Republic*. In none beside these can we surely convict Plato of lack of knowledge and failure to look up his authority. In general I believe that while Plato did *refer* to Homeric lines without verifying his references, he did not in the majority of cases *quote* from memory. This is a question of probability and not one where proof is possible. My conclusion is based first, upon the remarkable accuracy of much the greater part of Plato's quotations. Second, despite mistaken *references* which reveal the inexactness and incompleteness of his knowledge, he is as precise when *quoting* less familiar passages as when dealing with the first lines of the *Iliad*. Third, a close comparison of *Rep.* 405 E. and *Ion* 538 C. seems to me to show either that Plato verified his quotation in the *Ion*, or that he knew or remembered his Homer better while composing the *Ion* than while composing the *Republic*. The first conclusion is the easier and, if valid, is significant in its bearing upon the entire question.

18. Rome's Foreign Population, 100 B.C.—100 A.D., by Dr. W. F. Palmer, of West View, Ohio.

The object of this paper is, first, to ascertain the nationalities composing Rome's foreign population for this period, and, second, to learn something regarding their occupations. The following is a synopsis.

I. The influences at work in Rome which tended to attract foreigners. II. A discussion of the question of the total population of the city and the proportion of foreign population. III. The legislation regarding foreigners. IV. The Jews. V. The Chaldeans. VI. The Greeks. VII. The Egyptians. VIII. The question of slavery: (a) Private slaves; (b) Public slaves; (c) Part taken by slaves in the management of the commercial and industrial business of the city; (d) Construction of the city's great improvement. IX. The countries from which

¹ *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. VI.

² La Roche, *Homeric Textkritik*, p. 32.

the Romans obtained their slaves and the work performed by each class of slaves: (a) Asia; (b) Syria and Cappadocia; (c) India; (d) Africa; (e) Gaul; (f) Germany; (g) Moesia and Liburnia; (h) Sardinia; (i) Britain. X. Conclusions.

I subjoin some brief remarks with reference to a few of the topics discussed.

II. It is impossible to ascertain with even approximate accuracy, either the total population of the city at this time or the proportion of foreigners. Citizens in provinces and municipal towns are usually included in the few statements bearing upon the population of the city (Val. Pat. II. 7. 7; Livy XLI. 8; XLII. 10). Julius Caesar alone distributed 80,000 citizens among colonies across the sea (Suet. *Jul.* 42), and Augustus 120,000 (*Monum. Ancy.*). Mithridates put to death 80,000 Roman citizens who were doing business in Asia (Val. Max. IX. 2, 3). The data furnished by the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (tabula tertia a laeva 15-16) and by Suetonius (*Jul.* 41) regarding the distribution of money and grain to the plebeians are insufficient. After making computation for the women, children, equites, and senators, we shall do little but guess-work in attempting to reach a numerical conclusion, for the number of freedmen, slaves, and foreigners is wholly past finding out.

IV. The Jews. The conclusions regarding the Jews are based upon the following passages: Cicero, *pro Flac.* 28, 66; *de provin. consul.* 5, 10; Horace, *Sat.* I. 4, 140-143; 9, 61-72; Ovid, *Remed. Amor.* 219, *Ars Amat.* I. 76; Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. 10. 2-8, XVII. 11. 1, XVIII. 3. 5; Persius, V. 184; Juvenal, VI. 543-547, XIV. 96-106; Tacitus, *Ann.* II. 85, XV. 44, *Hist.* IV. 3-6, V. 5. 13, *frag.* 2; Suetonius, *Jul.* 84, *Tiber.* 36; Appian, II. 39; Dio Cass. LX. 3. At Rome there were enough Jews to form by themselves an important city. Many of them were business men, some were slaves, some artisans, and others were engaged in the work of proselytizing, while still others, especially women, made gain by working upon the superstition of the populace.

V. The Chaldeans. The following passages are most valuable in giving information regarding the Chaldeans: Cicero, *de div.* II. 42-47, 99; Val. Max. I. 3, 3; Pliny, *H. N.* XXX. 2, XXXVII. 100; Juvenal, VI. 553, X. 93; Tacitus, *Ann.* II. 32, XII. 22; Dio Cass. XLIX. at end, L. 56. LXV. 1. This people in a way seems to have supplied the place of the old oracles which had fallen into disuse at this time. Much of the superstition which so characterized the Roman populace at this time was due to the practices of this people. Their power over those high in the state, as Nero, Agrippa, and even Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, is evidence of their number and pervading influence. One of the strongest pictures in Juvenal is that in which the emperor Tiberius is represented as sitting upon the rock of Capri with his flock of Chaldeans about him.

In our abstract we shall consider only Asia, Syria, and Cappadocia, for from these districts the Romans obtained the most of their slaves.

IX. (a) Asia. Our information must be based chiefly upon the following citations: Cicero, *pro Flac.* 2, 3; 27, 65; Catullus, X. 6; Livy, XXXIV. 4, XXXIX. 6, XLV. 23; Strabo, XIV. 5; Pliny, *H. N.* XXXV. 199; Juvenal, V. 56, VII. 130; Florus, III. 12. 6; Justin. XXXI. 8, 9. The occurrence in Roman comedy of such names for slaves as Lydus, Lesbia, Mysis,—names derived from their native countries (cf. Varro, *de L. L.* VIII. 9),—is evidence of the kind of employment followed. Youths of high birth from these districts

were much used upon the stage, and often danced in Caesar's shows for the amusement of the people. Female players from Asia often played at Roman banquets upon the cithera and sambuca, and acted as pantomimists. Our conclusion, then, is that these Asiatics, apart from being used in large numbers as ministers to luxury and amusement, were very extensively employed in the hardest and most menial public and private services. Among them were to be found great extremes: the most valuable and skilled — the *flos Asiae* of Juvenal — and the cheapest and most ignorant of all the slaves acquired by the Romans.

IX. (b) Syria and Cappadocia. The following passages will be sufficient to show the magnitude of the slave traffic between Rome and this section: Cicero, *post red. in sen.* 6, 14; *de oratore*, II. 66, 265; *in Pisonem*, 1; *Verres*, II. 5, 25; Horace, *Epist.* I. 6. 39; *Sat.* I. 2. 1; Strabo, XIV. 5. 2; Livy, XXXV. 49; Propert. II. 23. 21; Persius, VI. 77; Martial, VI. 77. 4, X. 23, 9, 76; Juvenal, III. 62, VI. 351, VII. 15, VIII. 159; Suetonius, *Aug.* 83, *Nero* 27, *Gr.* 8. The term Syrian is quite general and includes the people on the coast from Egypt to Cilicia and far inland. Slave dealing was the chief reason for the fact that the Mediterranean Sea was so infested with pirates. The profits were immense, and slaves could be acquired with great facility. The imbecility of the kings of Syria and Cilicia made easy the constant marauding enterprises directed against their subjects. The Rhodians, Cyprians, and Egyptians, who were enemies of the Syrians, did what was in their power to direct the attacks of the pirates against Syria. The Syrians were immoral. They were extensively used as ministers to luxury. Many were employed as carriers of sedans, some as tavern keepers, others as grammarians. Numbers of them became successful traders and business men. Many of the artisans in Verres' shop in Sicily were acquired from pirates. And since the pirates largely obtained their slaves from Syria, we may infer that in Rome great numbers of these slaves were engaged in the mechanical arts.

Professor Clement L. Smith then reported as Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place of Meeting in 1897. The Committee recommended that the next annual meeting be held at Bryn Mawr College, beginning July 6, 1897. The report was adopted.

The meeting adjourned at 4.50 P.M., in order to enable the members to attend the reception at the residence of Professor and Mrs. Albert Harkness.

EVENING SESSION.

The Association met shortly after 8 P.M.

19. Age at Marriage in the Roman Empire, by Professor Albert Granger Harkness, of Brown University.

This paper appears in the Transactions, in conjunction with Nos. 2 and 20.

20. Remarks on C. I. L. VI. 29149, by Professor Albert Granger Harkness, of Brown University.

Remarks were made by Professor Smyth.

21. The Form of Philosophical Discussion before Sokrates, by Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, of Yale University.

To understand the art of Plato it is necessary to consider the earlier efforts to express philosophical reasoning. Down to the time of Sokrates I find three forms of philosophical expression: (1) the "saying" or proverb, (2) the didactic poem, and (3) prose exposition.

We can affirm nothing confidently as to the form of discussion in the early Ionic school. Apparently Thales left nothing in writing. His successor, Anaximander, wrote a work from which Theophrastos quotes the saying that all things return to the first principle "of necessity, for they suffer punishment and pay the penalty to each other for their injustice." The fragment confirms the statement of Theophrastos that his phraseology is rather poetical. Of Anaximenes' writings we know almost nothing beyond the statement of Diogenes that he wrote simple, plain Ionic.

Something resembling the style of Anaximander reappears in the writings of his noted successor in Asia Minor, Herakleitos. His play on words (66: "The bow *βίος* is called life *βίος*, but its work is death"), his irony (127: "If it were not to Dionysos that they made the procession and sang the phallic hymn, they would be acting most shamelessly"), and his pregnant statements (51a: "Oxen are happy when they find bitter vetches to eat"), all contribute to make his writings obscure. He chose the pithy saying, the aphorism, as the form to express his views, but his purpose in doing so does not seem to have been to give currency to his thought. Rather he supremely disregards the attitude of others; he goes his own way, criticizing alike those who think and those who do not think; and the form of his writings is admirably adapted to the man and the thoughts he would express. Single deep glances into the reality of things, and single cuts across the views of others, constitute his philosophy. He has no complete rounded system, and I find no proof that he wrote any complete book. 22: "All things are exchanged for fire, and fire for all things; as wares are exchanged for gold, and gold for wares." 36: "God is day and night, winter and summer, war and peace . . .; he assumes different forms as incense does; every one gives him the name he likes." 41: "You could not step twice in the same rivers; for other and yet other waters are ever flowing on." In such pointed statements did Herakleitos express his belief that fire is the first principle of things, that opposites are one, that change is universal. In the same manner he criticizes others. 16: "Varied learning does not teach any man wisdom; else it would have taught Hesiod and Pythagoras, and again Xenophanes and Hekataios." While of Pythagoras he went on to say, 17: "Prosecuting investigations more than any other man, he made a wisdom of his own, — much learning and bad art." The proverb has always been a favorite form for the expression of popular philosophy; Herakleitos used it to express an abstruse philosophy, and that primarily for himself rather than for others.

Herakleitos founded no school, and he had no successor in this form of literary expression. Zeno came nearer to it than any later philosophic writer, in the riddles by which he sought to confirm the position of his master, Parmenides. Contests in propounding and solving riddles were by no means unknown in Greece and Sicily, and it is truly remarked by Schneidewin that here is to be found the beginnings of the later Eristik. The arguments from Achilles and the tortoise he could not overtake, from the arrow that is at rest in its onward flight, from the pile of grain that makes no noise in its fall because the single grain makes no sound,—show how Zeno used the riddle to enounce and enforce his philosophic position.

The second general form of philosophic expression to take its rise in Greece is the didactic poem. Philosophic speculation as to the origin and interpretation of the world was preceded by mythical and cosmogonic speculations in poetic form. The *Theogony* of Hesiod, the early speculations of the Orphic school, the cosmogony of Pherekydes, are not philosophy, but they stimulated thought which became philosophic, so that it would not be unnatural for early philosophy to adopt their poetic form. The immediate occasion for the use of poetry in philosophic writing was the poetic genius and spirit of one of the earlier Greek philosophers,—Xenophanes. Parmenides, his successor, adopted the form as well as the doctrine of his master; Empedokles, himself a poet of no mean order, followed the example of Parmenides; and, perhaps fortunately, ancient philosophy had no other poetic expounder with the single exception of Lucretius, the brilliant imitator of Empedokles.

Xenophanes is best known as a lyric poet. His purely literary productions contain a spirited critique of ordinary views, and in this respect they resemble the so-called philosophic fragments; for in these, too, he criticizes popular views of religion and of nature with the freedom and power of a poet. According to Diogenes, Xenophanes made his living in later years by reciting his own compositions at the festivals of different cities, and we can well believe that both the elegiac verses and the hexameters on religion and philosophy might have been composed for such recitation. 5-6: "Mortals suppose that the gods are born, as they themselves are, and that they wear man's clothing, and have human voice and body; . . . but if cattle or lions had hands, so as to paint with their hands and produce works of art as men do, they would paint their gods and give them bodies in form like their own,—horses like horses, cattle like cattle." Such is the poet's statement of the transcendency of God, the poet's criticism of popular anthropomorphic ideas of God; and such verses make it clear that even in his philosophic writing Xenophanes was a poet, aiming to please and interest the people. Poetry became the vehicle of philosophic teaching because this poet used his ordinary means of expression for his scientific and philosophical views, and Eleatic thinkers who accepted his views continued to express them in verse.

With Parmenides the verse form which he inherited is somewhat external, so much so that he is said to have rewritten his views in prose. His poem on the nature of things begins with an elaborate, not to say a labored proemium, describing his approach to the palace of the goddess in whose mouth are placed his philosophic opinions. Different views have been held as to the poetic merit of the proemium, but there can be no question that the lines which follow are exceedingly barren. The hopes held out by the goddess to the enquirer are

expressed with some vigor. 133: "Thou shalt know the nature of the heavens and all signs that are in the sky, the hidden toils of the pure bright torch of the sun, and whence they arose, and thou shalt learn the wandering course of the moon and its nature. Thou shalt behold the sky surrounding all, whence it arose, and how necessity directing it chained it so as to serve as a limit to the courses of the stars." The remainder of the poem is as prosaic as is possible even for a scientific treatise.

The third Greek thinker to write in poetry, the only one who really succeeded in the difficult task of uniting philosophic thought with true poetic form, was Empedokles. Philosopher and poet, mystic thinker and thaumaturge, priest and statesman, — the many-sided life of Empedokles is reflected in the variety of his writings. Tragedies, an epic poem, and hymns to the gods are referred to him by Diogenes Laertius. We possess fragments only of his great philosophic poem and of that on lustral rites. His predecessors had used daktylic hexameter for their poems; Empedokles, I believe, sought to conform much more closely to the pure epic model. From the study of the fragments that remain to us, we find that he keeps in mind the epic standard, in verse, in language, and in style. He uses the hexameter as it was used in the epic, not as a mere form, but as a form bringing out his thought and emphasis better than it could otherwise be expressed. In language one marks the occurrence of purely epic words, of epic forms, and of epic constructions. The use of epithets is clearly influenced by the epic model, — epithets are chosen for picturesque effect rather than for the development of the argument, the same epithets occur with the same nouns, and the epic series of three nouns having a descriptive epithet with the third is not infrequent. It is certainly a bold idea to make an epic out of the scientific description of the origin of nature, but the breadth of plan and the general mode of treatment point to this. I will only quote one of several similes, to illustrate how scientific description is clothed in epic language, 316 ff.: "And as one with a journey in prospect through a stormy night provides himself with a lantern and lights it at the bright-shining fire, lanterns that drive back every sort of wind (for they scatter the breath of the winds that blow); and the light darting out, inasmuch as it is finer [than the winds], shines across the threshold with untiring ray; so the elemental fire, shut up in membranes, it entraps in fine coverings as the round pupil; and the coverings protect it against the deep water which flows about it, but the fire darting forth, inasmuch as it is finer . . ."

The rise of simple prose exposition is to be more briefly told. I have already called attention to the statement of Diogenes that Anaximenes wrote "plain Ionic," presumably prose. Some half a century later we find Melissos, a pupil of Parmenides, using simple prose to state again the doctrines of the Eleatic school. His prose, still in the Ionic dialect, is labored and confused and can claim no literary merit. His effort to introduce a logical form into the discussion of philosophic questions can hardly be called successful. In his attempts to expound scientifically the idealistic views of his school, he only deserves the credit of a bare and crude simplicity.

The prose of Anaxagoras stands on a higher level. His long residence in Athens, his connection with the brilliant circle gathered by Perikles, his alleged influence over Euripides, and finally the forebodings of a new era in thought which appear in his philosophy, interest us in Anaxagoras more than in his

predecessors. His writings seem to have met with much favor, as we may infer both from Plato's reference in the *Apology* to the price of his works, and from the fact that they were preserved long after the writings of so able and learned a scholar as Democritus were lost. Diogenes informs us that Anaxagoras was one of the philosophers who left but a single work, and this, he says, "was written in a lofty and agreeable style." Allusions to other works seem to be due to misunderstanding or to deliberate forgery. In the fragments of the first book, preserved by Simplicius, he states his philosophic positions in a straightforward way, with only an occasional comment or proof. He is not easy to understand, however, because he is not entirely successful in creating a philosophical vocabulary to meet his needs.

With the Sophists began the new era of philosophic thought, and the development of earlier forms of thought, like the development of the content of philosophic systems, found a partial conclusion in the work of Anaxagoras.

22. Notes on the Function of Modern Languages in Africa, by Professor W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

It seems to be a universal law that a conquered people shall forsake its own speech for that of the conquerors,—provided the latter are superior in civilization, culture, and refinement. The Kelts in the time of Cæsar's invasion did so. While, on the other hand, the Germans, who later invaded the same country, forsook their own language for that of the conquered but more civilized race. The French language, like the Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, is derived from the popular Latin,—like them it is the "product of the slow development of the common Roman speech."

The phonetic changes observed in the development or decadence of a language may be attributed in part to the structure of the vocal organs as well as to the difference in race or climate. All of these have their influence. As examples, we note the *Langue d'Oïl* and the *Langue d'Oc* of north and south Gaul respectively. What is true here is true elsewhere. What is true of Europe, of America, is true of Africa under the same or similar conditions. It is the survival of the fittest whether in the realm of linguistics or of animal life. Civilization is the mighty power that shapes the destiny of language. Dialects crumble before it and diversity of tongues drift toward unity. The stronger will swallow up the weaker until the speech of the dominant people prevails; jargon at first, perhaps, extinction later.

From an early period, from the time that African ethnology, African linguistics, African folklore, began to attract the attention of ethnologists and philologists to any considerable extent, a scheme of classification of these African speech forms has been a matter of serious study. But in an unexplored field like this, however, difficulties of an insuperable character are wont to arise, making it impossible to arrive at anything definite. A classification of these on a purely scientific basis seems out of the question. Dialects and sub-dialects, the product of ignorance and environment, are so numerous that philologists are baffled to find a starting-point.

It is not straining a point to declare that the native African is a linguist of no mean sort—that many of them speak several languages and dialects apart from

their own; even the rudest of them seeming to pick up speech wherever they find it. As an example we may mention the Veys and the Deys, the Golahs and the Pessas from the interior, who, from contact with foreign-speaking people, and especially the English, learn the language of their superiors sufficiently to converse intelligently with foreign residents. The Krumen may be taken as another example. Both the Kru and the Grebo tribes belong to the agglutinative speaking class. In the language of Cust, "travelers allude to the jargon of Sierra Leone English, and state that the people of Lagos speak a patois of English which closely approximate to Yariba."

Clicks form a curious linguistic feature of the Hottentot group. Sayce speaks of an unpronounceable click not otherwise found in the language, as associated with the folk story of a hare, which story in turn is traced from the Bari of Central Africa, through Melagasy, Swahili, Kaffir, Hottentot, back to the Bushmen. It is well to note here that these clicks are found in connection with beast fables of the backward tribes of southern Africa. He refers to them as the bridge that marks the passage of inarticulate cries into articulate speech; "we may see in them survival of those primeval utterances out of which language was born." Herodotus says of the Ethiopian Troglodytes (IV. 183): *γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμίῃ ἄλλῃ παρομοίην νενομίκασι ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι καθάπερ αἱ νυκτερίδες*. These clicks are expiratory sounds, consonantal in their character. I prefer the classification into dentals, palatals, and laterals, of the three out of the four found in the Hottentot speech. These three clicks are also found in Zulu and in the speech of other tribes who seem to have caught them by contagion. I have found natives of the Ama-Xosa, Ba-Suto, Tembu, Zulu, and what is called the Fingo tribe, who spoke English fairly well, using these same clicks—all of which are difficult for a foreigner to incorporate with any readiness into the word he wishes to utter.

C, *q*, and *x* are the characters that the English translator has made use of to represent these clicks. *C* stands for the dental, *q* for the palatal, and *x* for the lateral. The letter *c*, as found in the word *ncapai*, is to our ear nearly like the sound produced by a kiss; but it is made by the compression of the tip of the tongue between the teeth and then drawing it back in haste. The sound represented by *q* is made by placing the tongue against the roof of the mouth and then withdrawing it quickly—the effect being a cracking sound. The letter *x*, representing the third of these clicks, corresponds to the sound we use in clucking to a horse—the tongue unites with the double teeth as in the pronunciation of the word *box*. This sound, in common with the others, does not come at the close of the word, but before the vowels as we find it in the tribal name Ama-Xosa. These clicks are never found in the formative part of a word. The fourth sound in the Hottentot speech, referred to above, not a click proper, is guttural, from the bottom of the throat—rough, and made by contracting the throat, while forcibly expelling the breath, and moving the epiglottis so as to modify it tremulously. It seems almost impossible to be made except by natives. These can drop it with seeming ease, so far as I have observed, and substitute the English sounds for *c*, *q*, and *x*, pronouncing words containing them without hesitancy.

SOME EXAMPLES OF WORD FORMATION.

Of all the European people the Portuguese were the first to become established on African soil. Their language soon became fixed and exerted an influence over the native speech that quickly determined the future of the latter. *Piccaninny* is Portuguese in its origin, but of African mold. It is what some would call a loan word incorporated into the native speech. It seems to be from *picade niño* or *pequeño niño*, a little infant. Sifted through the African speech it comes out *piccaninny*, a term that is often applied in the Carolinas and on the coast to a negro child. *Palaver* is Spanish from *palabra*, and usually denotes idle talk or gossip, but, like *piccaninny*, it too became an incorporate part of the native speech, taking on the form, accent, and peculiarities of the same in parts where the Spanish is predominant. The terms for *knife* in the Basque language are all loan words so called — e.g. *ganibeta*, from the French *canif*, and *nabala* from the Spanish *nabaja* (*novacula* — Latin).

As the result of these mixed speech forms we note the jargon of the negro of the Danish West Indies. It is a specimen of broken Danish and is sometimes called Creolese. It seems to have neither gender, number, declension, nor conjugation. Another example is found in the negro-English Dutch, which includes also words from the Spanish, Portuguese, and French.

Thus it will be seen that in the changes resulting from blending all these tongues, the speech forms of the more intelligent survive, though the process of development is slow.

Adjourned at 9.10 P.M.

MORNING SESSION.

PROVIDENCE, July 9, 1896.

The meeting was called to order at 9.30 A.M. The reading of papers was begun at once.

23. The Satirical Element in Ennius, by Professor E. M. Pease, of Leland Stanford Jr. University.

Writers on the history of Latin literature are accustomed to speak of the *Saturae* of Ennius as "a collection of miscellaneous poems of a didactic nature, written in different metres," and to refer to Lucilius as the author in whom the elements of satire, in the modern sense of the word, first occur. It was the aim of this paper to question this established view, and to suggest presumptive evidence in favor of the genuine satirical spirit in Ennius.

The thoughtful study of literature, which traces step by step the influences bearing upon each author and notes the causes producing each new feature, shows that there are no great breaks in the line of development, but on the other hand that there is a regular and steady growth, as truly conformable to the law of evolution as the growth in the physical world. The supposition that satire

burst out in full bloom in Lucilius was shown to be due in part to his misinterpretation of certain passages in Latin, and to have no sufficient basis.

The apparent contradiction of Horace in speaking of Lucilius as the inventor of Roman satire (*Sat. I. 10. 48*), and of Ennius as the *rudes et Graecis intacti carminis auctor* (*Sat. I. 10. 66*) is wrongly explained by the supposition that Horace had reference to the satirical spirit in speaking of Lucilius and to the form in the case of Ennius. The same unwarranted inference that the satirical spirit did not exist in the Saturae of Ennius has been drawn from the description of satire in *Diomedes* (p. 485, Keil), whose whole statement may be somewhat discredited on account of his manifestly extravagant description of Horace and Persius. In the other references to satire in Latin literature there is nothing to prevent one from assuming the elements of satire in Ennius.

In attempting to show an organic relation between the Saturae of Ennius and the old dramatic Saturae we must first notice the origin and characteristics of the latter. According to Livy's condensed and somewhat confused account (7. 2), it would seem that the Romans were indebted to Etruria for certain elements of the Satura. At the celebration of the harvest-home and other rural festivals the light-hearted merry people of Latium had long been accustomed to the jovial banter of the Fescennine verses—an entertainment consisting of dialogues of coarse jokes and personal abuse in metrical form, perhaps enlivened by the exhilarating tones of the pipe or by the beating of time with the feet. In 364 B.C. the magistrates invited a band of Etrurian actors to Rome in the hope of staying the ravages of a terrible pestilence. These actors danced a sort of pantomime to the accompaniment of *regularly composed music*, and so pleased the people with their performance that Roman youths—the same ones no doubt whose quick wit and dramatic power had made them the leaders in the merriment of their native entertainments—began to imitate the Etruscan actors, and to combine the elements of the musical pantomime with the metrical dialogue of the Fescennine raillery, to which they applied the name Satura, “medley,” from its composite nature.¹ Cf. Ital. *farsa*, Fr. *farce*, Arabic *Quasstde* as applied to poetry, and Juvenal's term *farrago* for his satires. As the Satura developed under the control of the Roman youths, and the acting became more and more an art, it finally passed into the hands of professional actors, and the young Romans contented themselves with the less exacting performances of after-plays—exodia, to which the Atellanae also were reduced after the introduction of the regular drama. As the versus Fescennini were superseded by the Satura as a dramatic entertainment, but lived on in the scurrilous verses of the marriage celebration and triumphal songs; so the Satura supplanted by the fabula Atellana and the regular drama passed into that branch of poetry known as the literary satire.

It is a fair inference from Livy 7. 2. 8. that Andronicus, *qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere*, had been in the habit of writing Saturae before he turned to the regular drama; and in all probability the Satura of Naevius mentioned by Festus 257 (M) is one of the last examples of the old dramatic Satura, rather than the beginning of the new literary Satura. The conservative spirit of Naevius, his plebeian sympathies, and his adherence to the old

¹ It is pleasant to find Mr. Tyrrell presenting this explanation of Satura in his *Latin Poetry*, p. 217, thus confirming the view I had previously advanced in lectures.

Saturnian verse, in which the old *Saturae* were probably written (the verse quoted by Festus is apparently Saturnian) render this all the more probable.

One of the chief characteristics of the Roman genius was the fondness for the display of satire and ridicule, and it is worthy of note that the literature of the Romans is more deeply tinged with this spirit than that of any other nation. Up to this time these old Roman burlesques had served (like the editorial page in the modern newspaper) as the principal instrument for publishing the criticism of men and measures, and for hurling the shafts of satire against the vices of society.

With Ennius, an innovator in so many ways, *Satura* took on a new form, and for this reason: The success of the new drama, with its fully developed plot, killed the demand for the old dramatic medley, as a theatrical entertainment. The new plays, however, were moulded on the type of the new Attic comedy, the comedy of manners, and gave little opportunity for the display of satire and ridicule, which had so characterized the old time burlesques. Nothing could be more natural then, than that Ennius should remodel the old satirical medley into the literary *Satura*, and form thus a proper channel for the expression of that sort of miscellaneous criticism which formerly was current in the old *Satura*, and which is referred to by Horace (*Epist.* II. l. 145-160) in his description of the spirit of the indigenous drama. Ennius retained the name, the spirit, and the essential features of the old *Saturae*. The characteristics of his *Saturae* are traceable throughout the whole history of satire down to Juvenal. The language never rises to the height of other kinds of poetry (Hor. speaks of his satires as 'sermones,' and his muse as 'pedestris'). The peculiarities of the *Sermo Familiaris* are everywhere noticeable. There is a strong tendency to dramatic form. Dialogue forms an important feature. The personal, autobiographical element is everywhere noticeable. The inordinate amount of obscenity likewise portrays its peculiar origin. Unusual laxity in structural arrangement, the easy change of topic, variety of metres, are other characteristics; and can we believe, as the writers on satire would have us, that the spirit of satire and ridicule was current in the old *Satura*, and in all the authors of the literary *Satura* except Ennius and his nephew Pacuvius? In the fragments of Ennius, scanty though they be, there is evidence of all the elements of the Roman *Satura*, including that of satire. Later writers developed these characteristics each in his own peculiar way, the conditions of society and the temperament of the writer being the leading influences. We cannot believe that Ennius, the man who was perhaps more influential than any other Roman in moulding Roman thought on Greek lines, in introducing Greek culture, in awakening scepticism in religion, and in dispelling superstition, accomplished this without the instrumentality of satire.

It was shown that there was good evidence of this spirit of satire in his *Saturae* in their very titles, in the sources which he drew upon or used as models, in the various topics of which he treated and which became the stock subjects of later satirists, and to some extent in the language itself.

This paper was read for the author by Professor William A. Merrill. Remarks were made by Professors A. G. Harkness and Gudemann.

At the request of the Committee on Officers for 1896-97, the Secretary read the following nominations : —

President, Bernadotte Perrin, Yale University.

Vice-Presidents, Minton Warren, Johns Hopkins University.

Clement L. Smith, Harvard University.

Secretary and Treasurer, Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College.

Executive Committee, The above officers, and

O. M. Fernald, Williams College.

Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins University.

Francis A. March, Lafayette College.

Samuel Ball Platner, Western Reserve University.

John Henry Wright, Harvard University.

The report was adopted, and the above-named officers elected.

In the absence of a member of the Latin sub-committee of the Committee of Twelve, the Secretary announced that the report on Latin would shortly be sent to all the members of the Association for their approval. The report is here inserted.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF TWELVE ON THE STUDY OF LATIN.

The Programmes of secondary education put out by the Committee of Ten in their report published in 1893, proposed the reduction of Greek preparatory studies from three years to two, and the reduction of Latin preparatory studies from five periods a year for four years to five periods a year for the first two years and four periods for the remaining two years.

The harm which would have been worked by the acceptance of the proposition with regard to Greek was so great and unmistakable that immediate and unhesitating protest was demanded. Accordingly the American Philological Association, at a large meeting held in Philadelphia, December 28, 1894, unanimously adopted a motion (now generally made known throughout the country) that, in any programme designed to prepare students for the classical course, not less than three years of instruction in Greek should be required.

The harm which would have been worked by the acceptance of the proposition of the Committee of Ten with regard to Latin was appreciable, and the point of view from which the reduction in that subject was made was a dangerous one. Nevertheless, since the proposed reduction in Greek was the more serious of the two, the Philological Association confined its immediate expression of opinion to that subject, charging its Committee of Twelve, however, with the further duty of considering the questions involved in the propositions with regard to Latin. The Committee accordingly gave the question careful thought, and conferred also with a large number of other members of the Association engaged in the teaching of languages, ancient or modern, in schools or colleges. It found a striking harmony of opinion, which was further evinced at the meeting of the American Philological Association held in Cleveland on July 13, 1895, by the unanimous passage of the following resolution :

"The American Philological Association is of the opinion that the best interests of education demand the retention of the full amount of five weekly periods for four years now generally given, throughout the country, by schools that have a four-year course. And it would be glad to see an increase of the number of years devoted to the subject, either through an extension of the high-school course to five or six years, or through the carrying of some of the high-school subjects into the grammar-school curriculum."

The Association recognizes the fact that the prevailing crowding and lack of uniformity in our secondary education in America are serious evils. Accordingly it is in sympathy with the desire of the Committee of Ten to relieve the present congestion of studies and at the same time reach a national programme or series of programmes which might everywhere be adopted; but the Association differs radically from that Committee with regard to the method to be employed. It is of course clear that, under the present circumstances of increasing demands for time on the part of many of the so-called newer subjects, the results desired cannot be obtained unless there is either a general reduction of the time given to each subject or a complete omission of some of the subjects or a relegation of some of them, in whole or in part, to the grammar-school grade. In the judgment of the Philological Association the first method, which was the one proposed by the Committee of Ten, is not the true one. It is not best to relieve an overcrowded programme by reducing studies that are of central importance. It is better in any case to make sure that the few essential things in any programme of study, whether classical or scientific or of any other kind, are given their full weight and effectiveness, than to teach many things incompletely through an insufficient allotment of time.

It is to be clearly understood that the Association is not now concerned with the question whether every one should be required to study Latin, but is simply laying down the proposition that those who do desire to study it should find a sufficient amount of time devoted to it to enable them to gain the best results. In point of fact there seems to have been a general agreement that five periods a year for four years is none too large an amount to assign to the subject. No demand for a reduction from this amount has come from the schools themselves. On the contrary, it seems to be generally recognized that a larger amount of time, rather than a smaller, ought to be given to the subject of Latin. In a number of schools in different parts of the country courses of five or six years have already been developed; and the feeling which led to this movement found formal expression, at the meeting of a large and widely representative Classical Conference held at Ann Arbor in March, 1895, in the passage, without a dissenting vote, of a resolution in favor of a six-year course.

This belief in a longer course, rather than a shorter one, appears most natural to one who studies the problems of education not simply from the point of view of American experiments, but with the knowledge also of the experience of other countries. Our better schools usually provide four years for the study of Latin, with five exercises a week. If to this amount be added the two years of Latin regarded as normal by colleges which prescribe a part of their work, American education has at best a six-year Latin course to present as against the nine-year or ten-year course found in Germany and England. Moreover, the number of weekly exercises given to the subject is smaller in this country than in Europe.

A reduction to a still lower standard, such as is proposed by the Committee of Ten, would be uncalled for and unfortunate. We protest against it, because such a reduction would tend to cripple the study of Latin and other studies which are appreciably affected by its welfare, and because such a reduction would postpone the hopes we entertain that Latin studies will be developed in this country until the opportunities afforded equal the best open to students of the old world. We therefore appeal to our universities, our colleges, and our schools, and to all friends of sound education, in whatever occupation, to see to it that our preparatory Latin, in place of being weakened, is strengthened and developed as soon as practicable into something more substantial than we now possess. To this end we especially ask the co-operation, not only of all classical teachers, but of those who are interested in our own and other modern languages; and in general we ask the support of all men who believe in a well-rounded liberal education, in which literary studies constitute an indispensable part.

WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, *Professor of Greek, Harvard University, Chairman.*

CECIL F. P. BANCROFT, *Principal of Phillips Andover Academy.*

FRANKLIN CARTER, *President of Williams College.*

WM. GARDNER HALE, *Professor of Latin, University of Chicago.*

WILLIAM R. HARPER, *President of the University of Chicago.*

FRANCIS W. KELSEY, *Professor of Latin, University of Michigan.*

GEORGE L. KITTREDGE, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*

ABBY LEACH, *Professor of Greek, Vassar College.*

THOMAS D. SEYMOUR, *Professor of Greek, Yale University.*

CHARLES F. SMITH, *Professor of Greek, University of Wisconsin.*

MINTON WARREN, *Professor of Latin, Johns Hopkins University.*

ANDREW F. WEST, *Professor of Latin, Princeton University.*

The undersigned, not members of the American Philological Association, approve the position taken by the Association in the resolution of July 13, 1895, and unite with the Committee in their appeal, as expressed in the final paragraph of the accompanying Report.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, *President of the University of Wisconsin.*

GEORGE B. AITON, *Inspector of State High Schools, Minnesota.*

HARLAN P. AMEN, *Principal of Phillips Exeter Academy.*

JAMES W. BASHFORD, *President of Ohio Wesleyan University.*

JOHN BINNEY, *Professor of Hebrew, etc., in the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn.*

J. J. BLAISDELL, *Professor of Philosophy, Beloit College.*

RICHARD G. BOONE, *Principal of Michigan State Normal School, Ypsilanti.*

C. F. BRACKETT, *Professor of Physics, Princeton University.*

JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, LL.D., *Madison, Wisconsin.*

WILLIAM H. BUTTS, *Principal of the Michigan Military Academy, Orchard Lake, Michigan.*

FRANCIS J. CHILD, *Professor of English, Harvard University.*

JOSEPH H. COIT, *Rector of St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H.*

- WILLIAM C. COLLAR, *Head Master of Roxbury Latin School.*
 EUGENE C. COULTER, *Head Master of the University School, Chicago.*
 E. W. COY, *Principal of Hughes High School, Cincinnati.*
 T. F. CRANE, *Professor of Romance Languages, Cornell University.*
 NEWTON C. DOUGHERTY, *Superintendent of Schools, Peoria, Ill.; President of the National Educational Association.*
 TIMOTHY DWIGHT, *President of Yale University.*
 EDWARD D. EATON, *President of Beloit College.*
 WILSON FARRAND, *Associate Master, Newark Academy.*
 JOSEPH W. FAIRBANKS, *Principal of Smith Academy, Washington University, St. Louis.*
 J. H. FREEMAN, *Superintendent of East-side Schools, Aurora, Ill.*
 GEORGE S. FULLERTON, *Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.*
 JOHN C. GRANT, *Principal of the Harvard School, Chicago.*
 FRANCIS B. GUMMERE, *Professor of English, Haverford College.*
 JOHN J. HALSEY, *Acting-President and Professor of Political and Social Science, Lake Forest University.*
 EDWARD L. HARRIS, *Principal of the Central High School, Cleveland; President of the Department of Secondary Education, National Educational Association.*
 THOMAS S. HASTINGS, *President of Union Theological Seminary, New York.*
 DAVID J. HILL, *President of the University of Rochester.*
 B. A. HINSDALE, *Professor of the Science and Art of Teaching, University of Michigan.*
 ANNIE B. HYDE, *University of Denver.*
 WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, *President of Bowdoin College.*
 JULIA J. IRVINE, *President of Wellesley College.*
 JOHN J. KEANE, *Rector of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.*
 CHARLES H. KEYES, *President of Throop Institute, Pasadena, Cal.*
 GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD, *Professor of Philosophy, Yale University.*
 ALBERT G. LANE, *Superintendent of Schools, Chicago.*
 W. R. MALONE, *Principal of the Salt Lake City High School.*
 MOSES MERRILL, *Head Master of Public Latin School, Boston.*
 HUBERT A. NEWTON, *Professor of Mathematics, Yale University.*
 A. F. NIGHTINGALE, *Superintendent of High Schools, Chicago.*
 FRANCIS L. PATTON, *President of Princeton University.*
 HENRY R. PATTENGILL, *Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan.*
 OSCAR D. ROBINSON, *Principal of High School, Albany; a member of the "Committee of Ten."*
 NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER, *Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Pennsylvania.*
 AUSTIN SCOTT, *President of Rutgers College.*
 WILLIAM H. SMILEY, *Principal of High School, Denver.*
 EGBERT C. SMYTH, *Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Andover.*
 WILLIAM GREENOUGH THAYER, *Head Master of St. Mark's School, Southborough, Mass.*
 CHARLES S. THORNTON, *Member of the Illinois State Board of Education.*

C. H. THURBER, *of the Department of Pedagogy, University of Chicago; Dean of Morgan Park Academy, Morgan Park, Ill.*

CHARLES F. THWING, *President of Western Reserve University.*

OLIVER S. WESTCOTT, *Principal of North Division High School, Chicago.*

C. O. WHITMAN, *Head Professor of Zoölogy, University of Chicago.*

TALCOTT WILLIAMS, *Editor of "The Press," Philadelphia.*

GEORGE E. WOODBERRY, *Professor of Literature, Columbia University.*

C. A. YOUNG, *Professor of Astronomy, Princeton University.*

The Report was approved by the Association by a vote of 276 to 4.

At the Joint Meeting of the Departments of Higher and of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association, held at Buffalo, July 9, 1896, copies of the first edition of this Report were distributed. The following resolution was offered by Principal E. W. Coy, of the Hughes High School, Cincinnati, and after remarks by several speakers was carried by a unanimous and hearty vote : —

Resolved, That the Report on Latin of the Committee of Twelve of the American Philological Association meets with the cordial approval of the Departments of Higher and of Secondary Education of the National Educational Association.

The Report as approved was afterwards ordered printed in the Proceedings of the National Educational Association.

A telegram from the Secretary of the National Educational Association, then in session at Buffalo, was then read, as follows : —

The joint committee on college entrance requirements of the departments of higher and secondary education, of the National Educational Association, formally invite the American Philological Association to prepare at its convenience a report on the proper course of secondary instruction in Latin and Greek, for the information and use of our joint committee.

After discussion, it was voted that the Committee of Twelve should prepare such a report, and that, in so doing, they should take into consideration the results reached by the conferences of the College and School Associations of the New England and Middle States.

It was then voted to authorize the Chairman of the Committee of Twelve (Professor W. W. Goodwin, of Harvard University) to fill vacancies in the Committee created by the temporary absence in Europe of two members, — Professor Goodwin, and Professor Warren, of Johns Hopkins University.

In place of Professor Goodwin, Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, of Bryn Mawr College, was appointed ; in place of Professor Warren, Professor Clement L. Smith, of Harvard University. At the request of Professor Goodwin, Professor T. D. Seymour, of Yale University, accepted the position of Chairman of the Committee.

Professor Hewitt, of Williams College, then proposed the following vote of thanks, which was carried :

Resolved, That the members of the American Philological Association desire to express their hearty thanks to the Trustees and Faculty of Brown University for the use of their buildings and for their many courteous attentions on the present occasion; to the Local Committee,—of which Professor William C. Poland is Secretary,—for their efficient labors in the interests of the session; and also to Dr. and Mrs. Albert Harkness, for the pleasant reception given at their residence on the afternoon of Wednesday, July 8.

Professor F. A. March, of Lafayette College, reported as Chairman of the Committee on Spelling Reform.

The Committee has not been called on for any official action since the last meeting of the Association. It reports progress.

The "Orthographic Union" of publishers, authors, and the like, with a new Secretary,—F. A. Fernald, Morris Heights, N. Y. City,—has been adding to its membership, and preparing a word-list of "such changes only as a considerable number of authors, editors, and educators have expressed willingness to unite in using."

The London *Times* opened its columns towards the close of 1895 to correspondents who protest against the tyranny of orthodox spelling, especially against examiners in the schools and Civil Service Commissioners, who 'pluck' a lad because he spells 'judgment' with two e's. Professor Earle and Dr. Abbott join the protestants, and the editor of the *Times* sums up, agreeing with Dr. Abbott that "moderate latitudinarianism would be reasonable." "The present system is wasteful and unprofitable." Professor Earle wrote that "the way to slow but natural reform is to relinquish coercion and let all men spell as they like, trusting that the natural process of survival of the fittest will in due time bring about improvement."

The practical necessity of uniformity of spelling in a printing establishment has heretofore retarded the progress of spelling reform. But varied spellings have now come to be recognized in dictionaries and learned by printers to such an extent that the London Association of Correctors for the Press recognizes it as a cause of the loss of so much time and money as to call for action. They have compiled a list of the most common doubtful words, and agreed upon the spelling they will use.

Mr. Horace Hart, printer to the University of Oxford, has also compiled a set of rules to bring about uniformity in connection with the Clarendon Press. Upon his offer to send copies to those chiefly interested, he received letters asking for them from all parts of Britain, Ireland, India, America, and the Colonies.

It seems that the same difficulties which have led to the appointment of government commissions on the spelling of geographic names are leading the printers to demand authoritative regulation of all doubtful spelling, and there can be no doubt that all regulative action deliberately taken will promote orthographic reform.

The action of the United States Board on Geographic Names constituted by President Harrison in 1890 has been cordially accepted by the general public, and embodied in gazetteers and school books. It may be hoped that President

Cleveland will constitute a similar Board of Scientific Terms from the specialists whose reports are printed by the government.

The Committee was continued.

24. Vergil's use of the word *Atrium*, by Dr. H. W. Magoun, of Oberlin, O.

The word *atrium* occurs in Vergil six times. Servius and the commentators seem to take it for granted that he always had a Roman *atrium* in mind, and either ignore it altogether or comment upon it as though used in its ordinary sense. There are, however, reasons for believing that Vergil was strongly influenced in certain passages by his Homeric sources, and took *atrium* as the best Latin equivalent for a word which had long been obsolete in this sense in the Greek itself, and could not therefore be readily Latinized. The passages are all in the *Aeneid*, and are as follows: —

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| I. 725 f. | fit strepitus tectis, vocemque per ampla volutant
atria; |
| II. 483 ff. | apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt;
apparet Priami et veterum penetralia regum,
armatosque vident stantes in limine primo. |
| 528 f. | porticibus longis fugit et vacua atria lustrat
saucius [Polites]. |
| IV. 665 f. | it clamor ad alta
atria; etc. |
| VII. 378 ff. | ceu quondam torto volitans sub verbere turbo
quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum
intenti ludo exercent; etc. |
| XII. 473 ff. | nigra velut magnas domini cum divitis aedes
pervolat et pennis alta atria lustrat hirundo,
pabula parva legens nidisque loquacibus escas;
et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc umida circum
stagna sonat: etc. |

The two last citations occur in similes — Amata raving through the city like a flying top, and Juturna driving through the ranks of the foe like a swallow that flies through the house of a wealthy man. They offer little to consider; for the plural is the favorite form in the poets, and is therefore without special significance. It has been questioned, Beck. *Gal. tr.* by M., p. 251, whether the "fountain" mentioned in the last passage is the one in the *atrium*; but it seems best to take it so; for passages in Cicero make it clear that in Vergil's time *atria* built in the Corinthian style with pillars were common among the rich, and it may be assumed that he refers to such an *atrium* here. The citation from book IV. refers to the main hall of Dido's palace and may be passed over, since the passage from book I. refers to the same, and it will be quite sufficient to consider that. The citations from book II. refer to a single room. Vergil is describing the assault on the

palace of Priam. 'Pyrrhus is raging at the doors, a hole is cut through the stout oak, and the interior is seen [citation]. Terror reigns within, the women run to and fro, the Danaans burst in the doors, and the guards are overcome. In the meantime, Priam puts on his armor; the women flee to an altar in the midst of the palace, near which were the Penates, shaded by an aged bay-tree; and Hecuba sees Priam and calls him to her side. Then a son of Priam, escaping the general slaughter, flees [citation] through the long porticoes and traverses the deserted halls, only to be overtaken and slain in the sight of his parents.'

There are now several things to be noted. The bay-tree, 513, growing in the house, *aedibus in mediis*, seems to be Homeric and may perhaps have been suggested by the olive in the house of Ulysses, *Od.* XXIII. 190 f., although Servius places it in the *impluvium*, as if it were like the foliage in the later Roman *atria*, and Metcalf, *Beck. Gal.* p. 251, thinks that Vergil has the *atria* of his own day in mind. They have failed to note, however, that the house seems to have been built about the tree as it stood in the primeval forest, cf. VII. 59-63, which was not the Roman method by any means in the days of Vergil; and where *atria* were fine enough to contain trees, the Penates in his time were provided with a special place in the interior of the house. It may safely be asserted that they were never found in the *atria* of such houses in his day, although they may possibly have been in those of the humbler sort. Again, Priam has scarcely armed himself before Hecuba sees him and calls him to the altar. The arms, then, must have been somewhere near. Lastly, Polites flees, after the slaughter at the threshold, first through porticoes and then through *atria*, and is finally slain in the *penetralia*, since it is close by the altar and the Penates that he falls and perishes at the hand of Pyrrhus. Now it appears from such passages as *Hom. Il.* VI. 242 ff. and 316, that the Homeric house had first an *αὐλή*, an open court made with porticoes, and then a large hall, the *μέγαρον* (called also *δῶμα*), in which the arms were hung, cf. *Od.* XIX. 4 ff. and XXII. 23 ff., and at the inner end of which the hearth was placed, cf. *Od.* VI. 303 ff. and XX. 122 f. This hearth, *ἑσχάρα*, which might also be termed the altar of 'Ιστία, was the sanctuary of suppliants, cf. *Od.* VII. 153, and it is further clear from such passages as *Eur. Med.* 396 that the *θεοὶ κτήσιοι* (the Greek Penates) were regularly placed in its near neighborhood, although the *θεοὶ πατρώοι* had an altar in the *αὐλή*, cf. *Il.* XI. 774. Vergil must have been acquainted with all these facts, and it is hard to escape the conviction that he had them in mind in this place. The description of the first glimpse of the interior (see citation) also agrees with this idea and becomes, on this basis, very lifelike and natural: a hole is burst in the door, a swift glance reveals the *αὐλή* (*domus intus*), the *μέγαρον* (*atria*) with the hearth, or altar, and the Penates at its further end (*penetralia*), and the eye then returns and rests upon the armed men that await them at the threshold. Moreover, the Homeric arrangement of the Penates and the hearth appears to be referred to in other passages dealing with the city of Troy and the camp of Aeneas, cf. II. 297 and V. 660; and finally, in line 503, in the very midst of the story he distinctly mentions the *πενθήκοντα θάλαμοι* of II. VI. 244. The use of *penetralia* in line 508 does not invalidate the reasoning; for Vergil uses the word in a still more general sense of the cells of the ant, *Geor.* I. 379, and it may here be taken to mean that he saw the enemy invading the sanctity of his home. On the above considerations, it seems only fair to Vergil, although this view

upsets the theory held by Metcalfe, Henry, and Kappes that Vergil follows the plan of a Roman house in this place and refers to the *cavaedium* by *cavae*—*aedes* in line 487, to suppose that he uses the word *atria* in these two passages, not in its ordinary sense, but as an equivalent for the Homeric μέγαρον, which appears to have also had an open roof.

The remaining citation has reference to the feast in the palace of Dido, of which he says, I. 638: *mediisque parant convivium tectis*; cf. the Homeric use of δῶμα for μέγαρον, II. VI. 316, etc. Servius regards both this passage and the citation as having reference to the early customs of the Romans, and Metcalfe, Beck. *Gal.* p. 250, cites his quotation from Cato on line 726 (730) as an evidence that in the early days the *atrium* was the dining-room of the house. The same authority, however, on the following page cites the passage itself as an evidence that the *atria* of Vergil's time had become "very magnificent." This comes painfully near convicting Vergil of an anachronism; but is it necessary? We have no means of knowing what idea Vergil had of a Carthaginian house; but as Carthage was destroyed more than seventy years before he was born, and the scene is laid in Homeric times, it seems very unlikely that any factor of that kind entered into the question. On the other hand (there is hardly a page of the *Aeneid* which does not contain some item suggestive of Homer), the palace of Dido is represented as magnificent, I. 637, cf. *Od.* VII. 81 ff., the city excites the admiration of Aeneas, I. 421 f., cf. *Od.* VII. 43 ff., and the whole setting of the passage seems to be Homeric. Again, the μέγαρον, or δῶμα, was the dining-hall in which feasts were held, cf. *Od.* XX. 248 ff. etc., and finally, Dido, while upbraiding her faithless lover, laments that she has no little Aeneas to play in her *aula*, IV. 328. It does not help matters to suppose that *aula* here stands for *atrium*, as is commonly done in the case of III. 354 (Servius and Heyne seem to regard it as an αὐλή), although Vergil expressly says, 295, that Helenus is reigning over Grecian cities. It is much simpler to believe that Vergil is consistent (it is like him), and as he must have been acquainted with Greek houses, cf. *Hor. Car.* I. 3, 1-8, it seems quite probable that he conceives of Helenus as receiving his guests in an αὐλή such as he himself had seen. The other three passages in which *aula* occurs all point to an intentional use of the word as appropriate to the passage, not as a poetic makeshift—*Aen.* I. 140, the palace of Aeolus, cf. *Od.* X. 10; *G.* II. 504, of foreign conquests, cf. lines 487-97, which tend to give a Greek tone to the passage and suggest that the conquests are in the East; and *G.* IV. 202, where the bees in question are of the Greek variety, cf. 177, and therefore make an αὐλή, figuratively speaking, even if they do elect Quirites, 201; for the poet is not to be held to too strict an account. Again, there is abundant evidence that Vergil was a careful user of words. The huts of Carthage are called *magalia*, I. 421 and IV. 259, and those of Libya *mapalia*, *G.* III. 340; a Trojan in prayer speaks of the *tholos* of a temple, IX. 406; and even his use of *thalamus* (the metre forbids *cubiculum* and *dormitorium* is late) goes to show how careful he was to be consistent. In three passages it refers to a room in Dido's palace, IV. 133, 392, 495; but in fourteen (?) others,—*G.* IV. 189, 333, 373; *Aen.* II. 503; VI. 280, 397, 521, 528, 623; VII. 97; VIII. 372; X. 497; *Ciris* (?) 217, 512,—with hardly an exception, the color or setting is so distinctly Greek or Trojan (Homeric) that the word seems not merely appropriate, but technically correct. In the Latin sense, 'marriage-bed,' 'marriage,'

he uses it eight times, *Aen.* IV. 18, 550; VII. 253, 388; IX. 591; X. 388, 648; yet all but two of these, IX. 591 and X. 388, seem to be in keeping with the other passages and both cases occur in the later books, which show other evidences of increasing freedom in dealing with his subject. It is very probable, then, that Vergil means an αὐλή when he uses *aula*; and, if he does, it seems clear that here again, in the two passages relating to Dido's palace, he has used the word *atrium* as an equivalent for the Homeric μέγαρον. Such an explanation relieves all four of the passages from difficulty, is in strict keeping with Vergil's methods and character, and is far more natural than the supposition that he pictures the houses of his own day and then attaches usages and customs of his remote ancestors to give the whole an antique flavor. He may indeed have been influenced somewhat in his conception of ancient palaces by what he saw about him in Rome; but that is quite a different matter from supposing that he took these things as a basis rather than his Homeric sources.

I have thus far been able to find nothing in positive support of the above views. Heyne compares I. 725 with *Od.* I. 365, and adds below: "Non lucernas vel candelabra posuit sed *lychnos*, *funalia* . . . cf. *Odyss.* η, de regia Alcinoi, 100 sqq.," and he says of *porticibus longis*, II. 528: "Si Homerica et non sua potius tempora sequutus est, αἰθουσαν expressit, quae αὐλήν ab utraque parte ornat"; but his note on II. 512 and the excursus on the passage make it clear that he holds practically the common view. He says: "Graecis poetis erat ara Iovis Hercei (Διὸς Ἑρκέλου) in atrio aedium Priami, ἐν αὐλῇ· eam aram Virgilius in impluvium, si interiora domus ita appellare licet, transtulit . . . ut Penatium ara esset; propius hoc ad Romanum morem. v. Excurs." In the excursus he makes *interiora domus* refer to the *peristylum* of a Roman house. He does, however, recognize that there are difficulties in the passage. If Vergil means the μέγαρον, all these difficulties disappear, and that he does seems to be the only logical conclusion; for, as was suggested at the beginning, he could not use a Latinized form of μέγαρον. In the sense of the main hall of the ἀνδρῶν, the word is cited only in Homer. In Herodotus it is used of sacred edifices alone, and in later times it seems to have been confined entirely to underground caves sacred to Demeter and Persephone, in which sense it would probably have been understood by his readers, if Vergil had been bold enough to turn it into a Latin word. The best thing that he could do was to use the word *atrium* in its place, very much as we should use the word hall or halls to-day if writing a poem in English under similar circumstances; for it is probable that every foreign word which he used was familiar to his readers in the sense in which he used it. He accordingly used the technical term where he could do so, and translated elsewhere. Finally, the common view, that *atria* in the passages corresponds to αὐλή, loses sight of the fact that the Homeric αὐλή was not a room at all, but an open, unpaved court.

25. On the Accent of certain Enclitic Combinations in Greek, by Professor Francis G. Allinson, of Brown University.

This paper appears in full in the Transactions.

Professor J. Irving Manatt, of Brown University, then made some remarks on recent progress in Mycenaean archaeology.

26. Notes on the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, by Professor J. E. Harry, of Georgetown College.

I. THE CHARACTER OF PHAEDRA.

Down to the time of Wilamowitz-Möllendorff it was generally believed that Euripides represented Phaedra as being what she pretended to be — a virtuous woman, who really tried to remain true to her husband, and earnestly desired that her passion for Hippolytus should not be revealed to the young man. Wilamowitz says this view is not the correct one, that Phaedra is only playing a part in her dialogue with the nurse (516-524), that she really sees through the design of her servant, and hopes that she will approach the youth for whom she has conceived such a strong passion. Kalkman follows W.-M.'s lead, and others subscribe to the same opinion.

But, if we should adopt this view, would we not impute excessive subtlety to Euripides, as well as to Phaedra? Would we not demand too much of the audience? The average Athenian was not dull, but could he (in the brisk dialogue of Euripides) have taken all these subtle points which have escaped the scrutinizing glance of all the painstaking students, only to be discovered after the lapse of twenty-three hundred years? If this was the poet's design, and he has lacked an interpreter from that day to this, was it not too deep for even the quick-witted Athenian? Could he understand the real significance of Phaedra's words when she declared over and over again what her feelings are and what she has determined to do?

Phaedra was not spotless any more than Hippolytus, but she could not be called unchaste.¹ Every utterance of hers shows how she tried to stem the tide and die *εὐκλεής*. Her great misfortune is not to have hearkened to the voice of reason in time. Whither her passion might have carried her (even the strongest have succumbed) we can only conjecture, for the nurse precipitates matters by revealing to Hippolytus the whole situation. That this was done without the queen's knowledge and consent is clear. That she, perhaps, intuitively divines somewhat of her servant's purpose without knowing to what lengths she would go, does not affect the question. In her present state of mind she is easily led on by the nurse. She is not able to take the lead herself until she is roused by the terrible reality, until her worst fears have been realized. Then she summons up all her strength and carries out her previous resolution, viz., to take her own life. But now her reputation is at stake, and another shall suffer as well as she — *κακὸν γε χἀτέρῳ γενήσομαι θανοῦσ'* (728).

This conception of Phaedra harmonizes with the circumstances attending the production of the two dramas. Euripides must have intended that his second play should be entirely changed: he could not have retained the old Phaedra without deceiving his audience, and this he would not wish his players to do; for, as Hamlet says, their business is to tell all.

¹ So Puntoni *De Phaedrae indole et moribus in Euripidis Hippolyto Stephanephoro*. Pisa, 1884.

he uses it eight times, *Aen.* IV. 18, 550; VII. 253, 388; IX. 591; X. 388, 648; yet all but two of these, IX. 591 and X. 388, seem to be in keeping with the other passages and both cases occur in the later books, which show other evidences of increasing freedom in dealing with his subject. It is very probable, then, that Vergil means an *αὐλή* when he uses *aula*; and, if he does, it seems clear that here again, in the two passages relating to Dido's palace, he has used the word *atrium* as an equivalent for the Homeric *μέγαρον*. Such an explanation relieves all four of the passages from difficulty, is in strict keeping with Vergil's methods and character, and is far more natural than the supposition that he pictures the houses of his own day and then attaches usages and customs of his remote ancestors to give the whole an antique flavor. He may indeed have been influenced somewhat in his conception of ancient palaces by what he saw about him in Rome; but that is quite a different matter from supposing that he took these things as a basis rather than his Homeric sources.

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Professor J. Irving Manatt, of Brown University, then made some remarks on recent progress in Mycenaean archaeology.

During the time of William's reign, Henry has represented Philip as a man who really tried to remain true to his faith, but who was forced to compromise that for the sake of Hippolyte. William will say this view is not the real part of the picture with the ruler. Henry's design of his servant, and hopes that he will have as concerned such a strong passion. Henry has subscribed to the same opinion.

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II. THE GREEK STAGE AGAIN.

In view of the stand taken in some quarters recently against the 'no-stage' theory, I merely wish to emphasize what Pickard says in the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XIV., p. 83: "The height of this 'stage,' the lack of means of communication with the orchestra, its slight depth, its distance from the cavea, the doors leading out on the level of the orchestra, the arrangement of the seats themselves, all unite to prove that this structure could never have been used as a stage."

At line 58 of the *Hippolytus* a chorus of attendants enter, remain for some time, and depart with their master (l. 112). For this scene the broad level of the orchestra is better suited than the narrow platform of the stage. Indeed, to one who has had something to do with the management of a troop of young men on a much wider platform under not entirely dissimilar circumstances (at least so nearly alike that any difficulties of representation in the one would obtain for the other) it seems almost impossible to put this scene on a stage eight feet deep.

So in the scene where Hippolytus and the nurse are within the palace. Phaedra is farther away from the audience than the chorus, and consequently nearer the palace. Suddenly she hears a noise within and commands the chorus to keep quiet that she may hear. It is Hippolytus upbraiding the nurse, and, as soon as she discovers the real state of affairs, she breaks out with: *ὦ μοι, αἰαὶ αἰαὶ* · | *ὦ δυστάλαινα τῶν ἐμῶν παθημάτων* (569-70). The chorus does not understand, and Phaedra bids the choreutae step up to the door and listen for themselves (*ταῖσδ' ἐπιστάσαι πύλαις*). She does not tell them to mount an elevated stage. True, they do not move, but this is clearly a device of the poet to convey to the audience an account of what is going on in the palace (577-80).

III. MISCELLANEOUS.

1. 32. *ἔκδημον* is read by MAC²P and the scholiast, *ἔκδηλον* by VC¹N. Editors vacillate between the two. Nauck reads *ἔκδηλον* and says: "*ἔκδημον* deteriores libri" (which is not true). Wilamowitz has *ἔκδημον* and translates *ihr fernes Lieben*. Wilhelm Pecz (in his study of the tropes in the three tragic poets, *Berliner Studien für class. Phil.*, Vol. III.) considers *ἔκδημον* as referring to Hippolytus by metonymy (love for the lover). Weil proposes to alter these three lines, and omits *ἐρώσ' ἔρωτ' ἔκδημον*. Bury (*Class. Review*, III. 220) feels sure that *ἔκδηλον* must be the true reading, but his arguments are not convincing. *ἔκδηλον*, *conspicuous* (cf. *Il. V. 2*), makes sense — such as it is; the opposite *ἄδηλον*, *secret* (*Thuc. VIII. 108*), would be just as appropriate. Cf. 40, 42, 139 (*κρυπτῷ πένθει*). The passion was secret in both places (in Athens and at Troezen); it only became more violent when Phaedra came to the latter place. But many conjectures might be made, e.g. *ἀλγεινόν* (cp. 775), and yet none of them could be received as certain emendations. Blomfield, as well as Hartung, excises 32 and 33, but if these verses are removed, a sufficient explanation is wanting for 30 and 31: these two in turn are made necessary by 29. Moreover, *ἐπεὶ δὲ* in 34 corresponds to *πρὶν μὲν* in 29.

1. 33. *ὠνόμαζεν* is the reading of the MSS. and the scholiast. Several changes have been suggested. Meineke and Wilamowitz read *ὠνόμασον*. Kirch-

hoff has *δνομάσουσι*. The future is certainly to be desired, but the change is unnecessary: the tense can be explained on the basis of the *praesens propheticum*.

1. 42. *πᾶγμα*: MSS. Wilamowitz changes to *παῖδι*, unnecessarily. His reviewer in the *Classical Review* says that it is a harmless reading, if it had MS. authority, and harmonizes with 520, as the traditional reading does with 690. Neither line affects the question particularly. Line 41 gives the negative, 42 the positive side. In ll. 43-46 mention is made of the death of Hippolytus, in 47 of Phaedra; so we have a regular gradation in time: Theseus, Hippolytus, Phaedra, the events referred to occurring in the reverse order — a sort of *ὑστερον πρότερον*. The chorus swears *μηδὲν κακῶν σὼν ἐς φάος δέξειν ποτέ* (714); nevertheless, the whole matter *does* come to the light. Cf. the exclamation of the chorus in 367 *δλωλας, ἐξέφηνας ἐς φάος κακὰ*.

1. 79. *δοῖσι*: MSS. Porson changed *δοῖσι* to *δοῖσις*, a reading which is not objectionable, to be sure; but it is not so natural as *δοῖσι*. Nauck says: mit Porson's Aenderung ist dem Sinn der Stelle wenig gedient. In spite of the fact that most editors have followed Porson (Monk, Weil, Wilamowitz, Nauck in the third edition) the MSS. reading seems to me to be preferable. Cf. 3, 6, 442, 451, 1015, 1302. Consider the sentence *ἀλλ' . . . ὅμως* parenthetical, understanding *αὐτοὺς* with *ἐλληγεν*, and it becomes clear. It is not necessary to make *ἐλληγεν* neuter, as in Hom. *Od.* IX. 160, for the verb means here 'took them for her own.'

11. 168-169. Translate 'Much-revered by me she always comes to the rescue,' not as Mahaffy and Bury (after Weil) explain: 'she walks in the number of the gods,' nor as Paley takes it, 'thanks to the gods.' *σὺν θεοῖσι* is a stereotyped phrase meaning 'with the blessing of heaven.' *φοιτᾷ* is not used absolutely (the meaning is 'she comes to me') and this verb is purposely selected. *μετὰ θεῶν* occurs only in *H. F.* 180, where it is a matter of gods among gods. It is strange that this line has been so often misunderstood. Tycho Mommsen explained it correctly. Herwerden in *Revue de Philol.* for 1878, p. 19, says: requiro *ἐν θεοῖσι φοιτᾷ*, showing that he has the same conception of the passage as Weil, but is dissatisfied with the preposition *σὺν*. Hadley changes *φοιτᾷ* to *ἐφοίτα*, unnecessarily.

1. 277. *θαυεῖν*. This is the reading of the MSS. The only possible interpretation is that the nurse repeats the *θαυεῖν* of the chorus by way of reply, and then adds *δοῖτεῖ δ' ἐλς ἀπόστασιν βίον* to explain the means Phaedra chose: 'she desires to die, and to accomplish this, you see, she is starving herself.' The nurse *ἔκνομος* her mistress wishes to die (248-9, 305, 314, and especially 322), but the cause which lies back of this resolution (*τὸ δεινὸν τοῦθ' ὃ σ' ἐξαίρει θαυεῖν*) is what she has been trying so hard to discover (39-40, 271, 273 *πάντα γὰρ σιγᾷ τὰδε*, 279, 283, 284, 297, 303) and the very thing which Phaedra takes such pains to conceal. Consequently, no valid objection can be raised to the reading of the MSS. Wilamowitz feels sure that *θαυεῖν* has crept in from the preceding line; so he removes the word and fills up the gap with *οὐκ οἶδ'*, a harmless reading, but no better than many others which suggest themselves, e.g. *σιγᾷ* (cf. 273, 279, 297): the nurse reiterates that all her efforts have been in vain, and this word would be very appropriate here, in fact, more appropriate than *οὐκ οἶδ'*, for the nurse *does* know the answer to the latter of the two questions (*θαυεῖν περιωμένη*), as is shown by her interrogation in 322.

II. 468 ff. Nauck and Wilamowitz read ἡς κατηρεφεῖς δόμων with the MSS. Hartung has ἡ κατηρεφεῖς δόμους, Weil εὖ κατηρεφῆ δόκοις. Musgrave proposed κανὼν ἀκριβώσει' ἄν in the next line. Wecklein made a further change: οὐδὲ στέγην ἄν εἰς κατηρεφεῖς δόκους κανὼν ἀκριβώσειεν. Barthold rejects the three lines; Nauck reads ἀκριβώσαιεν and Wilamowitz ἄν ἡκρίβωσαν for the MSS. ἀκριβώσαιαν. Probably the whole difficulty originated with this verb. If Eur. wrote ἀκριβώσει' ἄν, the two words would soon coalesce, forming the plural, which would account for the changes in the preceding line. Hence I propose τις κατηρεφῆ δόμων for ἡς κατηρεφεῖς δόμοι. Cf. Soph. *El.* 380 ἐν κατηρεφεῖ στέγῃ.

II. 566 and 568. Wecklein, Johnson (*conj. et opt. usu Euripideo*), Hadley and others transpose these two lines. The order in the MSS. is correct, for as soon as Phaedra says ἐχειργάσμεθα, the chorus is eager to know what is the matter and can not refrain from asking. This necessitates a repetition of the command, which is given, not because the singing annoys the queen, but because she wishes to hear what is going on inside. Then the chorus complies with Phaedra's request and answers σιγῶ.

I. 485. μᾶλλον ἀλγίων. this is a pleonasm which occurs as early as Homer. In Latin it is very old. Of the double comparative Pautus has three examples (*Men.* prol. 55, *Poen.* prol. 83, *Pseud.* 220-1). In early English it is by no means rare. I have been at the pains to count the number in Shakespeare's plays, and find 29 examples (not counting 'lesser').

I. 1019. πρᾶσσειν γὰρ εἶ: this is the reading of *CVPNT* and the scholiast. Nauck and Wilamowitz omit the εἶ and insert τε before γὰρ. If this reading be accepted, the meaning must be: 'you have time to work,' i.e. to devote to anything which may interest you or engage your attention, whereas a monarch has no leisure, and, indeed, this is the interpretation of Wilamowitz, for he translates: *so bleibt Raum zu schaffen und zu wirken*. But πρᾶσσειν without a complement is rare except in the phrase λέγειν τε καὶ πρᾶσσειν. *Ion.* 730, seems to indicate the true reading: σὺν τοῖς φίλοις γὰρ ἡδὺ μὲν πρᾶσσειν καλῶς. This verse (1019) is introduced merely as an explanation or amplification of the preceding — πρᾶσσειν εἶ is merely another way of saying εὐτυχεῖν. Moreover, this thought harmonizes with the character of Hippolytus.

I. 1069. The MSS. read κακῶν at the end. So Nauck and most editors. The text must be corrupt. Wilamowitz reads δόμων. I propose ἔχων. A participle which has the same construction as κομίζων seems to be needed, and ξυνοκούρους ἔχων could easily have become ξυνοικούρους κακῶν.

The paper was read by Professor Ebeling.

27. Old-English Runic *æniþu lufu*, by Professor George Hempel, of the University of Michigan (read by title).

In his "Old Northern Runic Monuments" (III. p. 236 = Handbook, p. 193), Stephens places side by side two gold coins, one of which presents a runic inscription. This coin was found in England, and is in the British Museum; the other is in the Leyden Museum. Stephens, as usual, regards the foreign coin as a copy of the English, but this is manifestly impossible; both are, rather, barbarian

imitations of the same or similar originals. The faces of the coins present the head and shoulders of a beardless person facing the right. At his back is a square cross followed by an inscription running around the edge of the coin. The reverses of both present two full figures, hand in hand, and at the left a square cross followed by an inscription, of which only the letters ENE seem certain in both. The inscription on the faces of the coins is, however, much better preserved. On the Leyden coin it appears distinctly

+C O R N I L I O

For the English coin Stephens gives

+CNY 1441 + 1L 1 0

It will be observed that the engraver had first copied **CORNILIO** from his original, and had then erased as much as was necessary to make room for his runic inscription, which is written from right to left, as is often the case in very early runic inscriptions. Inverting the runes, they are: —

F x I D N T N Y N

All of these are regular Germanic as well as Old-English runes with the exception of the one before the last, which could only be a Scandinavian form of the rune for *k*. As nothing Scandinavian can be made out of the inscription, it is simplest to suppose that *ƿ* is for *ƿ*, and the loss of the small stroke is due either to inaccuracy in copying the coin, or to the fact that the coin is imperfectly struck, the ornamental rim being quite gone at this point, while the edge of the metal runs across the top of the rune itself.

The inscription is then quite clear

𐌱 𐌹 𐌿 𐌸 𐌺 𐌲 𐌺 𐌿 𐌸 𐌺
 æ n i þ u l u f u
 'unity' 'love'

Of these, *lufu* is the regular Old-English form for 'love.' In *ænipu* we have a primitive Old-English form of an abstract formed from *æn* 'one' by the usual abstract ending *-ipu* (Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre*, § 121, etc.), the later classical form of which would be **ænþu*, still later **ænþ* (Sievers, § 144 b, 244). In showing the original unsynopated *-i-* of the ending *-ipu* (Gothic *-ipa*), this primitive *ænipu* is, so far as my knowledge goes, the only Old-English form yet found.

It might be asked whether the inscription is not perhaps to be read *āniþu*, that is, that ƿ has its Germanic value of *a* rather than the Old-English value of *æ*, and that the inscription belongs to the time preceding *i*-mutation. But, as I have shown in an article in *Modern Language Notes* for June 1896, the change of Germanic *aī* to Old-English *ā* was accompanied by the change of runic ƿ| to ƿ̅, and we should therefore expect ƿ̅ if the *ā* were not yet mutated to *æ*.

The inscription *æniþu lufu*, or 'unity (and) love,' may have a political application, like the "Concordia," "Consensus," etc., of Roman coins (cf. "Consensus exercit" around two figures clasping hands, on a coin of Vespasian); or the coin

may have been struck in honor of a royal wedding, and the figures on the reverse be regarded as symbolic.

It may be added that Stephens' interpretation of the inscription is, as usual, not worth copying. He does not hesitate to render γ by *k*, as though he were dealing with a Scandinavian inscription, and he perverts the perfect $\Delta (= \beta)$ into a bad $\rho (= w)$, and then reads *Æniwuluku(nung)*, which he thinks means 'King Anwulf,' though it sounds more like the name of a king of the Sandwich Islands. The consideration of the original of these barbarian coins, and of the lettering on the reverses, I shall reserve for another occasion.

Adjourned at 11.30.

BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD.

JULY 1894 TO JULY 1896.

This list of philological publications by members of the ASSOCIATION has been compiled from information furnished, at the request of the Executive Committee, by the members themselves.

ABBREVIATIONS: *AJA* = American Journal of Archaeology; *AJP* = American Journal of Philology; *APA* = American Philological Association; *CR* = Classical Review; *ER* = Educational Review; *HSCP* = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology; *JAOS* = Journal of the American Oriental Society; *MLA* = Publications of the Modern Language Association; *MLN* = Modern Language Notes; *SR* = School Review.

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Imperial Ottoman Museum, Constantinople.
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Athenæum, London.

Classical Review, London.

Revue Critique, Paris.

Revue de Philologie, Paris.

Revue des Revues (Prof. J. Keelhoff, Tongres, Belgium).

Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, Berlin.

Deutsche Litteraturzeitung, Berlin.

Indogermanische Forschungen (K. J. Trübner, Strassburg).

Literarisches Centralblatt, Leipsic.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie, Berlin.

[Total (445 + 66 + 40 + 1 + 11) = 563.]

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE I. — NAME AND OBJECT.

1. This Society shall be known as "The American Philological Association."
2. Its object shall be the advancement and diffusion of philological knowledge.

ARTICLE II. — OFFICERS.

1. The officers shall be a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary and Curator, and a Treasurer.
2. There shall be an Executive Committee of ten, composed of the above officers and five other members of the Association.
3. All the above officers shall be elected at the last session of each annual meeting.

ARTICLE III. — MEETINGS.

1. There shall be an annual meeting of the Association in the city of New York, or at such other place as at a preceding annual meeting shall be determined upon.
2. At the annual meeting, the Executive Committee shall present an annual report of the progress of the Association.
3. The general arrangements of the proceedings of the annual meeting shall be directed by the Executive Committee.
4. Special meetings may be held at the call of the Executive Committee, when and where they may decide.

ARTICLE IV. — MEMBERS.

1. Any lover of philological studies may become a member of the Association by a vote of the Executive Committee and the payment of five dollars as initiation fee, which initiation fee shall be considered the first regular annual fee.

2. There shall be an annual fee of three dollars from each member, failure in payment of which for two years shall *ipso facto* cause the membership to cease.

3. Any person may become a life member of the Association by the payment of fifty dollars to its treasury, and by vote of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V. — SUNDRIES.

1. All papers intended to be read before the Association must be submitted to the Executive Committee before reading, and their decision regarding such papers shall be final.

2. Publications of the Association, of whatever kind, shall be made only under the authorization of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI. — AMENDMENTS.

Amendments to this Constitution may be made by a vote of two-thirds of those present at any regular meeting subsequent to that in which they have been proposed.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

THE annually published "Proceedings" of the American Philological Association contain an account of the doings at the annual meeting, brief abstracts of the papers read, reports upon the progress of the Association, and lists of its officers and members.

The annually published "Transactions" give the full text of such articles as the Executive Committee decides to publish. The Proceedings are bound with them as an Appendix.

The following tables show the authors and contents of the volumes of Transactions thus far published : —

1869-1870. — Volume I.

- Hadley, J.: On the nature and theory of the Greek accent.
Whitney, W. D.: On the nature and designation of the accent in Sanskrit.
Goodwin, W. W.: On the aorist subjunctive and future indicative with *ἔπαις* and *οὐ μή*.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the best method of studying the North American languages.
Haldeman, S. S.: On the German vernacular of Pennsylvania.
Whitney, W. D.: On the present condition of the question as to the origin of language.
Lounsbury, T. R.: On certain forms of the English verb which were used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
Trumbull, J. Hammond: On some mistaken notions of Algonkin grammar, and on mistranslations of words from Eliot's Bible, etc.
Van Name, A.: Contributions to Creole Grammar.
Proceedings of the preliminary meeting (New York, 1868), of the first annual session (Poughkeepsie, 1869), and of the second annual session (Rochester, 1870).

1871. — Volume II.

- Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.
Allen, F. D.: On the so-called Attic second declension.
Whitney, W. D.: Strictures on the views of August Schleicher respecting the nature of language and kindred subjects.
Hadley, J.: On English vowel quantity in the thirteenth century and in the nineteenth.
March, F. A.: Anglo-Saxon and Early English pronunciation.
Bristed, C. A.: Some notes on Ellis's Early English Pronunciation.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On Algonkin names for man.

Greenough, J. B.: On some forms of conditional sentences in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit.

Proceedings of the third annual session, New Haven, 1871.

1872. — Volume III

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Words derived from Indian languages of North America.

Hadley, J.: On the Byzantine Greek pronunciation of the tenth century, as illustrated by a manuscript in the Bodleian Library.

Stevens, W. A.: On the substantive use of the Greek participle.

Bristed, C. A.: Erroneous and doubtful uses of the word *such*.

Hartt, C. F.: Notes on the Lingoa Geral, or Modern Tupi of the Amazonas.

Whitney, W. D.: On material and form in language.

March, F. A.: Is there an Anglo-Saxon language?

March, F. A.: On some irregular verbs in Anglo-Saxon.

Trumbull, J. Hammond: Notes on forty versions of the Lord's Prayer in Algonkin languages.

Proceedings of the fourth annual session, Providence, 1872.

1873. — Volume IV.

Allen, F. D.: The Epic forms of verbs in *dω*.

Evans, E. W.: Studies in Cymric philology.

Hadley, J.: On Koch's treatment of the Celtic element in English.

Haldeman, S. S.: On the pronunciation of Latin, as presented in several recent grammars.

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Lull, E. P.: Vocabulary of the language of the Indians of San Blas and Caledonia Bay, Darien.

Proceedings of the fifth annual session, Easton, 1873.

1874. — Volume V.

Tyler, W. S.: On the prepositions in the Homeric poems.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English vowel-mutation, present in *cag*, *keg*.

Packard, L. R.: On a passage in Homer's *Odyssey* (λ 81-86).

Trumbull, J. Hammond: On numerals in American Indian languages, and the Indian mode of counting.

Sewall, J. B.: On the distinction between the subjunctive and optatives modes in Greek conditional sentences.

Morris, C. D.: On the age of Xenophon at the time of the *Anabasis*.

Whitney, W. D.: *Φόσει* or *Θέσει* — natural or conventional?

Proceedings of the sixth annual session, Hartford, 1874.

1875. — Volume VI.

Harkness, A.: On the formation of the tenses for completed action in the Latin finite verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On an English consonant-mutation, present in *proof*, *prove*.

Carter, F.: On Begemann's views as to the weak preterit of the Germanic verbs.

Morris, C. D.: On some forms of Greek conditional sentences.

Williams, A.: On verb-reduplication as a means of expressing completed action.

Sherman, L. A.: A grammatical analysis of the Old English poem "The Owl and the Nightingale."

Proceedings of the seventh annual session, Newport, 1875.

1876. — Volume VII.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: On *el* with the future indicative and *ed* with the subjunctive in the tragic poets.

Packard, L. R.: On Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad.

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Trumbull, J. Hammond: On the Algonkin verb.

Haldeman, S. S.: On a supposed mutation between *l* and *u*.

Proceedings of the eighth annual session, New York, 1876.

1877. — Volume VIII.

Packard, L. R.: Notes on certain passages in the Phaedo and the Gorgias of Plato.

Toy, C. H.: On the nominal basis on the Hebrew verb.

Allen, F. D.: On a certain apparently pleonastic use of *es*.

Whitney, W. D.: On the relation of surd and sonant.

Holden, E. S.: On the vocabularies of children under two years of age.

Goodwin, W. W.: On the text and interpretation of certain passages in the Agamemnon of Aeschylus.

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Whitney, W. D.: On the principle of economy as a phonetic force.

Carter, F.: On the Kurenberg hypothesis.

March, F. A.: On dissimilated gemination.

Proceedings of the ninth annual session, Baltimore, 1877.

1878. — Volume IX.

Gildersleeve, B. L.: Contributions to the history of the articular infinitive.

Toy, C. H.: The Yoruban language.

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Sachs, J.: Observations on Plato's Cratylus.

Seymour, T. D.: On the composition of the *Cynegeticus* of Xenophon.
Humphreys, M. W.: Elision, especially in Greek.
Proceedings of the tenth annual session, Saratoga, 1878.

1879. — Volume X.

Toy, C. H.: Modal development of the Semitic verb.
Humphreys, M. W.: On the nature of caesura.
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Peck, T.: The authorship of the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*.
Seymour, T. D.: On the date of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus.
Proceedings of the eleventh annual session, Newport, 1879.

1880. — Volume XI.

Humphreys, M. W.: A contribution to infantile linguistic.
Toy, C. H.: The Hebrew verb-termination *un*.
Packard, L. R.: The beginning of a written literature in Greece.
Hall, I. H.: The declension of the definite article in the Cypriote inscriptions.
Sachs, J.: Observations on Lucian.
Sihler, E. G.: Virgil and Plato.
Allen, W. F.: The battle of Mons Graupius.
Whitney, W. D.: On inconsistency in views of language.
Edgren, A. H.: The kindred Germanic words of German and English, exhibited with reference to their consonant relations.
Proceedings of the twelfth annual session, Philadelphia, 1880.

1881. — Volume XII.

Whitney, W. D.: On Mixture in Language.
Toy, C. H.: The home of the primitive Semitic race.
March, F. A.: Report of the committee on the reform of English spelling.
Wells, B. W.: History of the *a*-vowel, from Old Germanic to Modern English.
Seymour, T. D.: The use of the aorist participle in Greek.
Sihler, E. G.: The use of abstract verbal nouns in *-σις* in Thucydides.
Proceedings of the thirteenth annual session, Cleveland, 1881.

1882. — Volume XIII.

Hall, I. H.: The Greek New Testament as published in America.
Merriam, A. C.: Alien intrusion between article and noun in Greek.
Peck, T.: Notes on Latin quantity.
Owen, W. B.: Influence of the Latin syntax in the Anglo-Saxon Gospels.
Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in English.
Whitney, W. D.: General considerations on the Indo-European case-system.
Proceedings of the fourteenth annual session, Cambridge, 1882.

1883. — Volume XIV.

- Merriam, A. C.: The Caesareum and the worship of Augustus at Alexandria.
 Whitney, W. D.: The varieties of predication.
 Smith, C. F.: On Southernisms.
 Weils, B. W.: The development of the Ablaut in Germanic.
 Proceedings of the fifteenth annual session, Middletown, 1883.

1884. — Volume XV.

- Goodell, T. D.: On the use of the Genitive in Sophokles.
 Tarbell, F. B.: Greek ideas as to the effect of burial on the future life of the soul.
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 Wells, B. W.: The Ablaut in High German.
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 changes.
 Warren, M.: On Latin Glossaries. Codex Sangallensis, No. 912.
 Proceedings of the sixteenth annual session, Hanover, 1884.

1885. — Volume XVI.

- Easton, M. W.: The genealogy of words.
 Goodell, T. D.: Quantity in English verse.
 Goodwin, W. W.: Value of the Attic talent in modern money.
 Goodwin, W. W.: Relation of the *Πρόεδροι* to the *Πρωτάνεις* in the Attic *Βουλή*.
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 Sihler, E. G.: A study of Dinarchus.
 Wells, B. W.: The vowels *e* and *i* in English.
 Whitney, W. D.: The roots of the Sanskrit language.
 Proceedings of the seventeenth annual session, New Haven, 1885.

1886. — Volume XVII.

- Tarbell, F. B.: Phonetic law.
 Sachs, J.: Notes on Homeric Zoölogy.
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 Smith, C. F.: On Southernisms.
 Wells, B. W.: The sounds *o* and *u* in English.
 Fairbanks, A.: The Dative case in Sophokles.
 The Philological Society, of England, and The American Philological Association:
 Joint List of Amended Spellings.
 Proceedings of the eighteenth annual session, Ithaca, 1886.

1887. — Volume XVIII

- Allen, W. F.: The monetary crisis in Rome, A.D. 33.
Sihler, E. G.: The tradition of Cæsar's Gallic Wars, from Cicero to Orosius.
Clapp, E. B.: Conditional sentences in Aischylos.
Pease, E. M.: On the relative value of the manuscripts of Terence.
Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect.
Wells, B. W.: The sounds *o* and *u* in English.
Smyth, H. W.: The Arcado-Cyprian dialect. — *Addenda*.
Proceedings of the nineteenth annual session, Burlington, 1887.

1888. — Volume XIX

- Allen, W. F.: The *Lex Curiata de Imperio*.
Goebel, J.: On the impersonal verbs.
Bridge, J.: On the authorship of the Cynicus of Lucian.
Whitney, J. E.: The "Continued Allegory" in the first book of the *Fairy Queene*.
March, F. A.: Standard English: its pronunciation, how learned.
Brewer, F. P.: Register of new words.
Proceedings of the twentieth annual session, Amherst, 1888.

1889. — Volume XX

- Smyth, H. W.: The vowel system of the Ionic dialect.
Gudeman, A.: A new source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero.
Gatschet, A. S.: Sex-denoting nouns in American languages.
Cook, A. S.: Metrical observations on a Northumbrianized version of the Old English Judith.
Cook, A. S.: Stressed vowels in Ælfric's Homilies.
Proceedings of the twenty-first annual session, Easton, 1889.
Index of authors, and index of subjects, Vols. I.-XX.

1890. — Volume XXI

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Hunt, W. I.: Homeric wit and humor.
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- Whitney, W. D.: On the narrative use of imperfect and perfect in the Brāhmaṇas.
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1894. — Volume XXV.

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 Moore, F. G.: On *urbs aeterna* and *urbs sacra*.
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 Scott, C. P. G.: English words which have gained or lost an initial consonant by attraction (third paper).
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 Proceedings of the twenty-sixth annual session, Williamstown, 1894.

1895. — Volume XXVI.

- Bloomfield, M.: On Professor Streitberg's theory as to the origin of certain Indo-European long vowels.
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 Paton, James M.: Some Spartan families under the Empire.
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 Scott, C. P. G.: The Devil and his imps: an etymological inquisition.
 March, F. A.: The fluency of Shakespeare.
 Proceedings of the special session, Philadelphia, 1894.
 Proceedings of the twenty-seventh annual session, Cleveland, 1895.

1896. — Volume XXVII.

- Riess, E.: Superstition and popular beliefs in Greek tragedy.
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